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MISCELLANEOUS PIECES

Relating to the

CHINESE.

VOL. II.

ve, ki, chi, chi.

Omnia explorare intellectum perficit
CONFUCIUS.

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AUTHENTIC
MEMOIRS
OF THE
Chriſtian Church in *China*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WE imagine we ſhall need no apology for reprinting this curious and ſenſible piece: it is neceſſary only to inform the reader that it was firſt publiſhed in eight ſheets 8vo. under the following title.

AUTHENTIC memoirs of the chriſtian church in *China*: being a ſeries of facts to evidence the cauſes of the declenſion of chriſtianity in that empire. By JOHN LAURENCE DE MOSHEIM, chancellor of his majeſty's univerſity of *Gottingen*. Tranſlated from the German. LONDON 1750.

AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS OF THE Chriſtian Church in *China*.

THE following is an account of the revolutions among that part of the *Romiſh* communion, which is eſtabliſhed in *China*, of the controverſies which have ariſen among the miſſionaries, and of the diſturbance occaſioned thereby, even amongſt the ſubjects of the biſhop of *Rome* in *Europe*. It may ſeem proper to begin where father *Du Halde* leaves off; but I find it indiſpenſably neceſſary to go farther back to the infancy of the church in

China. It will be difficult to underſtand what has paſſed of late, without knowing many of the preceding tranſactions. The whole hiſtory of this church is connected. The lateſt events are conſequences of the meaſures firſt taken. Indeed there is another reaſon for this retroſpect. *Du Halde* has not related all that he might and would have related, had he been an impartial hiſtorian; and in ſome inſtances he departs from the hiſtorical character, to aſſume that of a panegyriſt and arbitrator. I think it expedient to guard the reader againſt the influence of his eloquence, as well as of his ſilence. This cannot be done by a mere continuation of his hiſtory. However I ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible. My authorities are unexceptionable. Moſt of them are borrowed from both the contending parties, neither of which will chooſe to diſpute the equity of

judgments pronounced at *Rome*, and of the bulls of Pope Clement the eleventh, and Benedict the fourteenth. And from theſe authorities my account is chiefly extracted. I ſhall carefully diſtinguiſh matters of doubtful or uncertain credit, and my own reflections will be eaſily diſcerned from the teſtimony of others.

The founders of the *Romiſh* church in *China* were three Italian Jeſuits, who were ſent into that empire by the ſuperiors of their order towards the end of the ſixteenth century; Roger, a Neapolitan; Paſio of *Bologna*; and Matthew Ricci of *Mazerata* in the marquiſate of *Ancona*. It is true, that before theſe, ſome other *Roman* eccleſiaſtics travelled to *China*, and promiſed to found a chriſtian church there. Du Halde and all the Jeſuits are cautious of mentioning theſe predeceſſors of their brethren. And the Dominicans and

Franciſcans, who are at enmity with the Jeſuits, give them inceſſant praiſe. The effect of great partiality, envy and indiſcretion on both ſides; on the one hand a needleſs caution, on the other an ill-grounded vanity. The Jeſuits might ſafely mention, and their enemies would ſuffer little by forgetting them. Whatever their good intentions might be, their travels and labours proved fruitleſs. The only merit they have, is that of landing in *China*, before the Jeſuits, and wiſhing to preach there, if they could have obtained permiſſion. It is certain, that the three Jeſuits beforementioned, were the firſt founders of this branch of their church. They had learned the *Chineſe* language before their arrival, ſo that they could immediately enter upon their commiſſion.

Paſio and Roger had not been many years

years engaged in it, before they were recalled. Ricci was therefore the only one remaining, and he carried on his undertaking with great zeal and aſſiduity. In very few years he had a numerous congregation, conſiſting of the *Literati* as well as the populace. He was aſſiſted in time by fellow-labourers, but whilſt he lived, he was at their head, in point of abilities as well as rank. He knew more perfectly than any of them, how to affect and win the minds of all orders of men, and to ſeaſon the doctrine he taught according to the palate and genius of the *Chineſe*. So that he juſtly merits the title given him, by his order, of father and founder of the church of *China*.

Ricci was a man of no common abilities. Beſides a natural complacency, diſcretion and benevolence, he had

had great ſagacity and learning, was patient and indefatigable to a high degree, ready in conforming himſelf to every one's opinions and views, and had an unbounded zeal to promote the intereſts of his church. He was perfectly ſkilled in mathematical learning, which of all others is moſt eſteemed in *China*. This opened to him the hearts of the great and learned. He ſpent ſeven ſucceſſive years among thoſe idolatrous prieſts whom they call the *Bonzees*, and was inſtructed by them in the language, cuſtoms and learning of the *Chineſe* *. His parts and temper won him the affection and eſteem of all his teachers. At leaving this ſchool, he was well enough verſed in *Chineſe* learning to be a match for the greateſt philoſophers of the empire. He laid aſide the habit of a Jeſuit, becauſe he perceived it brought him

* See *edifiantes & curieuſes des miſſionaires*, tom. VIII. p. 229.

into

into contempt, and put on that of a *Chineſe* philoſopher. This improved the reputation he had already acquired by his accompliſhments. The philoſophers of the country embraced him as a brother and member of their ſociety, and the people honoured him the more, for ſeeing him reſpected by their ſages.

He wrote ſome books in recommendation of the chriſtian faith, which were eagerly read, for they were written in the language uſed at court, and among the *Literati*. The principal book he publiſhed was printed at *Peking*, the capital of the empire, in the year 1603, and is entitled, *Of the Divine Law*. This piece is cenſured and extolled by different parties. If we believe the enemies of the Jeſuits, it is abominable, in that it connects and intermixes the doctrine of *Jeſus* with the morals of Confucius. As I know

no

no more of the book, than what is reported by the Jeſuits and their adverſaries, I cannot give my opinion. The life of Ricci is written at large by a maſterly hand, father Orleans, a *French* Jeſuit. It is hardly poſſible to read this life without admiring the great abilities of the man, tho' the application of them may not in every caſe be defenſible.

But Ricci with all his abilities, learning and experience, would have been the paſtor of a very ſmall flock, had he purſued only the methods of preaching and converting common to the *Romiſh* clergy. The prudence of his ſociety was of eminent uſe to him, and ſeconded his labours more effectually, than the ſimplicity of the goſpel. The Jeſuit miſſionaries preach chriſtianity very differently from the other monks and eccleſiaſtics. A Dominican,

minican, a Franciſcan, an Auſtin friar, or a ſecular prieſt, when he becomes an apoſtle, carries nothing with him, but a warm zeal for the faith, his ſchool learning, which is of more detriment than uſe to him, and a conſiderable ſtock of ſuperſtitious opinions. Beſides this, many of them are willing to make advantage of the credulity of the people, and promote the credit of their religion by a pious fraud and a pretended miracle. This is the whole ſpiritual apparatus of an ordinary *Romiſh* miſſionary. But a Jeſuit leaves his ſchool learning at home, and inſtead of it carries with him ſome rules of prudence inculcated into him by his ſuperiors and inſtructors. Of theſe rules the following are the principal:

I. A miſſionary, who hopes for ſucceſs, muſt aſſume the character of a divine, or philoſopher of the country

in

in which he preaches. This conduct removes great part of the prejudice uſually entertained againſt foreigners. A Jeſuit therefore, as ſoon as he enters upon his office in a heathen country, changes his character. In *India* he becomes a Braman; in *Siam* a Talapoin; in *China* either a Bonzee, or a Confucian and philoſopher; in *Africa* he appears a Marabou. A poor Capuchin or Dominican retains his *European* character, and makes that of a mendicant friar, conſiſtent with that of a preacher. Hence he is of little or no repute, whilſt the jeſuit, in his maſk, gains the hearts and attention of the people.

II. A miſſionary muſt make it his earneſt endeavour to be favoured at court. In order thereto, he muſt leave no means untried, by preſents, by reſpect, by attendance, and other the like prac-

practices, to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe who are at the head of affairs.

III. He muſt, if poſſible, inſinuate himſelf ſo far, into the confidence of the great and powerful, that he may be conſulted in matters of ſtate and government. A miſſionary, who has ſucceeded in this, may preach on ſecurely. There are ſome other rules under this head, which for the ſake of brevity I omit.

IV. A miſſionary muſt conform to the opinions and cuſtoms of the people he is ſent to, provided they be not manifeſtly inconſiſtent with the faith he is commiſſioned to preach.

V. He muſt make uſe of whatever has the appearance of truth and piety in the religion of the country where he preaches, and endeavour to recon-

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cile it to his own doctrine. It is not material, that this cannot be done without diſtorting the heathen as well as the chriſtian religion. The little ſin committed upon ſuch an occaſion is amply attoned for by the benefit it produces.

VI. He muſt not aboliſh, or prohibit, ancient cuſtoms and ceremonies, to which an ignorant people is generally much attached. Let the people retain the cuſtoms of their fathers. It is ſufficient to ſanctify them, that is, to ſeparate all that is manifeſtly idolatrous and ſuperſtitious, and with a good deſign to make the reſt conſiſtent.

VII. A miſſionary muſt have money, and trade may enable him to procure it. If therefore he can privately carry on a little commerce, he does well. It is no diſgrace to his office, whilſt he converts his gains to the ſervice of God.

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I might enumerate more of theſe rules, but it would be needleſs, as the reſt follow from theſe. If it be aſked, what authority I have to aſſert, that the Jeſuits obſerve theſe rules in their miſſions? I anſwer, it appears not merely from the writings of their enemies, but from their own conduct. As this is in all their miſſions their conſtant practice, it is highly probable, that directions for thoſe purpoſes are given them by their fraternity. Indeed moſt of theſe a Jeſuit would hardly be aſhamed to confeſs. Perhaps he may treat the third and the laſt as mere calumny; but the reſt he would call inſtances of apoſtolical prudence. The moſt able of their brethren have already done ſo. I appeal to *Fabri*, to the great *Gabriel Daniel*, to their writings publiſhed in the *Chineſe*, and to the letters of their miſſionaries.

Ricci moſt diligently obſerved the principal of theſe directions, and by their means invited and drew many perſons of all ranks in *China* into the church he had founded. He lived, wrote, converſed, and dreſſed like a *Chineſe* philoſopher and ſcholar. His learning and other merit recommended him to the perſons in power. He reconciled the ancient religion of the country, in ſome meaſure, to the firſt principles of theology, and united the maxims of the great *Confucius* with the words of life by delivered *Jeſus Chriſt*. He ſuffered his converts to follow the cuſtoms of their fathers, and to obſerve, as before, thoſe ancient uſages and ceremonies, which were founded in the laws of the empire, prohibiting only whatever admitted of no gloſs or pretence, and might affect the firſt truths of chriſtianity.

The religion of *China* is twofold. One as ancient as the empire itſelf, and in all probability introduced by its founders. The other is of much later date, and imported from India not long after the birth of our Saviour. The latter has idols, temples, ſacrifices, prieſts, monks, feſtivals, and many external rites and ceremonies. The former is free from all theſe, and is, perhaps, the moſt artleſs and ſimple of all the religions that ever were taught in the world. It preſcribes reverence to an inviſible being, reſiding in the viſible heaven, and diſtributing from thence happineſs and miſery amongſt mankind; but it enjoins no particular worſhip to him: ſo that temples, prieſts, aſſemblies, ſacrifices and rites, are things entirely foreign to it. The Emperor alone, at certain times, offers a ſacrifice to this powerful being in the name of his people. The moral part of

this old ſyſtem is ſhort and eaſy: it conſiſts in honouring the ſervants of *Tien* or *Chang-Ti*, (for ſo the ſupreme being is called) that is, the ſpirits preſiding over the mountains, rivers, foreſts, and other parts of the earth, and in ſome duties neceſſary to the welfare of the public, and of every particular family. Excepting theſe duties, it allows great latitude to the natural inclinations and appetites of men.

The later religion, that idolatry I mean, which was introduced by *FO*, or *FOE*, a celebrated Indian impoſtor, has a conſiderable party among the populace and women, but it is only tolerated. The wiſe men, and thoſe of diſtinction, profeſs the old religion, which is beſides the religion of the ſtate, profeſſed and even preached by the Emperor himſelf, and protected by the

the laws of the empire. Ricci was too wiſe and cautious to embrace the other party. And this, which he did embrace, happened to be ſo circumſtanced, that he formed hopes of reconciling it to the chriſtian faith. He therefore ſignified to the people, that he was only come to renew, and, by the addition of ſome eſſential tenets, to reform the antiquated religion of their forefathers, that he preached the ſame *Tien* or *Chang-Ti*, whom the old laws of their country pointed out to them, and that his moral ſyſtem was in truth no other than that, which was propoſed by their great philoſopher *Cong-fu-zu* or *Confucius*, after the example of the firſt ſages and fathers of the empire. This was naturally pleaſing to a people more vain and tenacious of the reverence due to their anceſtors, than any nation in the world. I will not join in the accuſation, that he purpoſely

wreſted and falſified the chriſtian doctrine, to adopt it to the opinions and prejudices of the *Chineſe*. His enemies and the enemies of his order have not yet clearly proved this charge. But thus much cannot be denied, that he in ſeveral reſpects miſinterpreted the old *Chineſe* faith, to render it more agreeable to nature, reaſon, and true religion.

China is the country where the Genius of ceremony principally reſides. The people are by long tradition and by the laws of the empire inured to ſo many rites and cuſtoms, that nature ſeems totally ſuppreſſed in them. Whatever is done in public is done by number, weight and meaſure, by a certain rule and proportion. A particular council is eſtabliſhed to take care of the ſupport of national cuſtoms, and to puniſh the contemners thereof. Moſt

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of them were introduced chiefly for reaſons of ſtate, and have no connection either with the old or new religion. But ſome few have a religious appearance, and ſeem to be conſequences of certain doctrines. The principal of theſe are the veneration of their anceſtors and of the great philoſopher Confucius. Every family in *China* is bound at certain times to aſſemble in a hall, which is called the hall of the fathers and forefathers, and there to pay a kind of worſhip, ſomewhat like ſacrifice and idolatry, to their anceſtors, whoſe names are written on little tables or regiſters hung up in the hall. They proſtrate themſelves before theſe tables, kill beaſts, burn gilt paper in honour of their fathers, and promiſe themſelves, that heaven will reward theſe marks of love and reſpect towards thoſe, from whom they are deſcended. Much the ſame tribute of

reſpect is paid by all the *Literati* to the great teacher of the empire, Confucius.

Ricci, however diſpoſed to indulge his converts in the cuſtoms and laws of their country, heſitated much at theſe ceremonies, which ſeemed to amount to a ſpiritual ſacrifice. He deliberated eighteen years, whether he ſhould permit them or not? The reſult of ſo long a deliberation was, to tolerate them, not as religious, but political cuſtoms. This reſolution was doubtleſs chiefly ſuggeſted by the deſire he had to enlarge his flock, and to ſecure it from reproach and perſecution. Whoever in *China* neglects the uſual reverence to his anceſtors, forfeits the character of an honeſt man and good citizen; and whoever neglects that paid to Confucius, forfeits all pretenſions to public honours and employments. So

that

that Ricci would have made but few diſciples, and thoſe muſt have been continually moleſted, had he prohibited this cuſtom. He therefore looked about him for arguments to reconcile the toleration of it to his conſcience. Men are ſeldom at a loſs in a caſe like this. The underſtanding is deluded by the will, and a ſlender reed aſſumes the air and ſtrength of a pillar.

The reader will judge better of the force of thoſe arguments, which convinced Ricci of the innocence of the ceremonies he was willing to tolerate, by peruſing them *. "The Mahome-
"tans, ſaid he, who are enemies to
"idolatry, perform theſe honours to
"their anceſtors and to Confucius;

* *See* Gabriel Daniel, *Hiſtoire Apologetique de la Conduite des Jeſuites de la Chine, dans le III. Tome du Recueil de ſes Oeuvres, p.* 4. *&c.*

"there-

" therefore they are not idolatry." As if Mahometans were judges in chriſtian caſes of conſcience; or as if the opinion of a *Chineſe* Mahometan, that is, of a *half Mahometan*, was of weight to determine what is ſuperſtition and idolatry. Again; " The *Chineſe* reſpect " neither their anceſtors, nor Confu- " cius, as deities or ſaints; their re- " verence to their anceſtors is only " to them, as perſons to whom they " owe their lives, and Confucius is " honoured merely as a philoſopher " and legiſlator." Here the matter in queſtion is taken for granted. " Thoſe " who kill the beaſts at theſe ceremo- " nies are not prieſts, but butchers." This would be ſome argument, were it eſſential to a ſacrifice, to have it ſlain by the hands of a prieſt. Further; " In the year 1384. the Emperor by " an edict prohibited columns to be " erected to Confucius, and that ſort

" of

" of honour to be paid him, which is " uſually paid by idolaters to perſons " deceaſed." This is ſuppoſing, that laws are always ſtrictly obeyed, or that it is impoſſible for them to grow obſolete. He alledged again, " that the " ſame honours, which are paid to " deceaſed anceſtors and to Confucius, " are likewiſe paid to the living Empe- " rors and the great officers of ſtate." It is ſtrange, ſo judicious a man ſhould forget, that marks of honour derive their value from the perſons to whom they are exhibited, and that conſequently thoſe offered to perſons deceaſed, and living, are of a very different nature. A man of ſenſe would never conclude, that becauſe he may innocently proſtrate himſelf before the Emperor, he may therefore with a ſafe conſcience fall down before the image of a perſon deceaſed, or before the table, upon which his name is recorded.

Beſides,

Beſides, the honours done to the Emperor and his miniſters are not the ſame with thoſe others; at leaſt no beaſt is ever killed for an offering to the Emperor and his Mandarines. He urged in the laſt place, "that theſe cuſtoms "were eſtabliſhed in *China* before ido-"latry took place there, therefore they "are not idolatrous." This argument takes it for granted, that there could be no idolatry in *China*, before that of *Foe* was introduced.

However bad as theſe reaſons were, they ſatisfied the doubtful conſcience of the Jeſuit. He permitted his converts to reverence their anceſtors and Confucius after the cuſtom of their country, with only ſome few limitations. Whatever was not expreſly required by the laws of the empire relating to this ceremony, he enjoined them to omit, and at the obſervation

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of the reſt, to lift up their hearts to God. That is, to outward appearance they were to worſhip their anceſtors and Confucius; inwardly, in ſpirit, they were to worſhip God. Thus the converted *Chineſe* deceived the unconverted, who were aſſembled with them in the hall. The chriſtians bowed with ſeeming devotion to the tables of their anceſtors, and thus avoided offence, whilſt they were addreſſing their thoughts and bending their ſouls to God.

Whilſt none but Jeſuits were preaching in *China*, Ricci's manner of converting and his connivances proved ſucceſsful. The chriſtians, however oppreſſed in ſome parts, increaſed by theſe means exceedingly. But their tranquillity was diſturbed by the Dominicans and Franciſcans, who came in the year 1630 to aſſiſt the Jeſuits,

in

in cultivating the vineyard they had planted. The new labourers, being entirely unacquainted with the jeſuitical rules of converting, were aſtoniſhed when they ſaw chriſtians proſtrate before Confucius and the tables of their anceſtors, and boldly declared, that their conſcience obliged them to condemn ſo ſuperſtitious and idolatrous a practice. A warm controverſy enſued betwixt them and the Jeſuits. Neither party being diſpoſed to yield, the matter was referred to the deciſion of their ſupreme judge at *Rome*. The enemies of the Jeſuits were plaintiffs. A Dominican friar, John Baptiſta Moralez, ſet out for *Rome*, and laid before the congregation *De propaganda fide*, his own and his brethren's doubts concerning the *Chineſe* ceremonies tolerated by the Jeſuits among their proſelytes. The congregation, as uſual, called in the opinion of many divines on

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the ſubject of this complaint, and at laſt determined, that thoſe ceremonies were ſuperſtitious and intolerable. As the Dominican had repreſented the hall of the anceſtors as a temple, and the whole ceremony as idolatry and ſacrifice, they could not well paſs a milder judgment. Pope Innocent the tenth confirmed it on the 12th of September in the year 1645. and commanded all preachers of chriſtianity in *China*, under pain of excommunication, to conform to this decree, till the holy ſee ſhould determine otherwiſe. The Jeſuits in *China* received this injunction with veneration, and laid it aſide with contempt. This is their uſual manner of treating thoſe decrees of the biſhops of *Rome*, which contradict the cuſtoms, maxims and opinions of their ſociety. They are bound more ſtrictly, than any other order, to obey the Pope, and no order obeys him leſs

than

than they. It may be accounted for among other reaſons by this, that their ſuperiors and their learned brethren, are eſteemed by them to be better judges of what is uſeful and pernicious to the church than the Popes and their councils. To this injunction, at leaſt, they paid ſo little regard, that ſeveral years paſſed before they ſent a counter-repreſentation to *Rome*. In the mean time they permitted what was forbidden by the decree, and thought themſelves juſtified, becauſe the decree was grounded on a falſe report. Their diſobedience however occaſioned much diſquiet and offence. At length, therefore, they judged it neceſſary to ſend one of their brethren to *Rome*, to ſolicit the repeal of the decree obtained by the Dominicans.

Martin Martini was the ſolicitor. He diſcharged his commiſſion with the greateſt

greateſt dex terity. Inſtead of applying to the congregation, who had paſſed the former ſentence, and who he foreſaw would hardly retract their own judgment, he went immediately to the then Pope Alexander the ſeventh himſelf, and repreſented to him, in a writing at large, that thoſe *Chineſe* cuſtoms were free from idolatry and ſuperſtition, and tended only to the peace and welfare of the empire. The Pope left the deciſion of the matter to the holy office or court of inquiſition, undoubtedly at the ſolicitation of the Jeſuit, whoſe buſineſs it was to keep it out of the hands of the congregation *De propagandâ fide*. The event anſwered his wiſhes. The holy office rejected the rites, which the Jeſuits had rejected, and permitted thoſe which they had permitted. Their judgment was approved and confirmed by the Pope, on the 23d of March 1656. The Je-

ſuits at firſt received this favourable deciſion as a ſhield, to be made uſe of in caſe of neceſſity. They did not publiſh it in *China*, but retained it privately, by way of anſwer to any future aggreſſors. But in time their caution abated, and their ſhield was converted into a ſword. They produced the decree imported by Martini, and maintained it to be a rule for the conduct of all the *Romiſh* clergy in *China*, ſince it annulled that decree, which had been ſent by the hands of Moralez. This indiſcretion renewed the war. The Dominicans and Franciſcans importuned the Pope and his miniſters with freſh complaints and remonſtrances, proteſted in the moſt ſolemn terms, that the ceremonies in queſtion were the worſt of abominations, and deſired that the holy office would inform them, whether the former decree of Pope Innocent the tenth, was indeed annul-

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led by this new one produced by the Jeſuits? The inquiſition gave an anſwer, which might ſeem ſuſpicious or forged, had we no authority for the genuineneſs of it, beſides that of the enemies of the church of *Rome*. But the infallible teſtimony of Pope Benedict the fourteenth, who recites it in his famous bull, *Ex quo ſingulari*, &c. renders the truth of it beyond all diſpute. The inquiſition anſwered, "That "the former decree of Pope Innocent "was by no means annulled by this "of Pope Alexander; that both were "to be obſerved, each according to "its circumſtances, and according to "the tendency of thoſe queſtions and "doubts which had occaſioned it"*. The two decrees, which were both to be

* *I chooſe here to tranſcribe the very words of Pope* Benedict *the fourteenth*; "Reſpondit "ſacra Inquiſitionis congregatio, præfatum de- "cretum adhuc vigere habitâ ratione rerum,

be in ſome meaſure valid, were as different as light and darkneſs. The one condemns the *Chineſe* ceremonies, the other permits them. And both were to be obſerved by the miſſionaries in *China*. There are but two ſolutions of this difficulty. Either the holy office meant, that if the Dominicans had made a true repreſentation of the *Chineſe* cuſtoms, then the decree obtained by them ſhould be in force, and take place of the other; but if the Jeſuits had truly repreſented the nature and tendency of theſe cuſtoms, then the decree imported by them ſhould be valid. Or if this was not their mean-

" quæ fuerunt in dubiis expoſitæ, neque illud " fuiſſe circumſcriptum à decreto ſacræ Inqui- " ſitionis, quod anno 1656 exaravit: imo eſſe " omnino obſervandum juxta quæſita, circum- " ſtantias & omnia ea, quæ antedictis dubiis con- " tinentur. Declaravit pariter eodem modo eſſe " obſervandum prædictum ſacræ congregationis " decretum anni 1656, juxta quæſita, circum- " ſtantias & reliqua in ipſis expreſſa."

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ing, it could be no other, than that every one might follow his own opinion; whoever was perſuaded, that the honours paid to Confucius, and to their anceſtors, were idolatrous and ſuperſtitious, might adhere to the firſt decree; and whoever judged them to be innocent and indifferent might follow the ſecond. Whether we admit this, or the other ſenſe, the anſwer of the holy office amounts to nothing, and leaves every miſſionary in *China* to act according to his own perſuaſion and conſcience. This is the practice at *Rome:* when two powerful parties contend about matters of religion, the judgment pronounced is commonly interpretable in favour of either ſide. Such are the deciſions of that viſible head of the church, who pretends to infallibility and extraordinary illumination! This anſwer, which left both ſides in poſſeſſion of their own opinion,

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was given in the year 1669, and Clement the ninth, who was then Pope, made no ſcruple to honour it with his apoſtolical ſanction.

In the ſame year commenced the golden age of the church in *China*. It had been long and ſeverely perſecuted. At the death of the Emperor *Xung-Chi*, the firſt of the *Tartar* family now on the throne, his ſucceſſor *Cang-hi*, or *Cam-hi*, was not of the age for government. During his minority, his regents conſpired with the nobles to extirpate the chriſtian doctrine, which had then ſpread very far. The execution of this deſign was begun in a manner, that ſtruck terror into every chriſtian teacher and hearer in *China*. John Adam Schall, the celebrated *German* Jeſuit, who was then ſeventy-four years of age, at the head of the *Chineſe* miſſion, and in a conſiderable

ſiderable poſt at court, was in the year 1664 thrown into a dungeon, and narrowly eſcaped a moſt cruel death. The next year it was unanimouſly reſolved by all the miniſters of ſtate, that the chriſtian law was falſe, and dangerous to the empire, and therefore it was forbidden under pain of death. Upon this the chriſtians, and their paſtors, endured a variety of ſufferings. In 1669 the young Emperor took the reins of government himſelf, and immediately the horrid ſtorm againſt the chriſtians ceaſed. This prince had uncommon talents: he was particularly the patron of arts and ſciences, and hence the church derived its proſperity during his long and glorious reign. Moſt of the Jeſuits in *China* were well verſed in thoſe parts of learning and mechanics, which *Cam hi* eſteemed. He therefore invited them to court, availed himſelf of their advice in council,

gave them conſiderable employments with large ſalaries, and even intruſted them with a ſhare in the government. This favour of his to the Jeſuits procured for the church all the protection it ſtood in need of, and promoted its increaſe. It flouriſhed conſiderably more, when ſeveral *French* Jeſuits arrived, who by their engaging addreſs, by being converſant in the *Chineſe* language, as well as that of the *Tartars*, by their ſkill in mathematical learning, in politics, in mechanics, in medicine, and in other branches of knowledge, entirely won the Emperor's heart. They ſoon diſcovered the monarch's inclinations and views, and by employing all their genius and ſagacity in pleaſing and entertaining him, at laſt became neceſſary to him. They were his inſtructors, whom he daily attended to, his friends, his phyſicians, and his counſellors; they ſerved him as

painters,

painters, turners, watchmakers, founders, accomptants, aſtronomers, and maſters of the ordnance. In ſhort they directed every thing at the court of *Pe-king*. The chriſtian faith and its profeſſors ſhared in this extraordinary proſperity of the Jeſuits. The Emperor, to gratify his favourites, publiſhed in the year 1692 that celebrated edict, by which the chriſtian religion was declared to be good and ſalutary, and all his ſubjects were permitted to embrace it. At their requeſt he ſent an embaſſy to the Pope, built them a magnificent church within the walls of his palace, and commanded all his vicegerents, and miniſters, to act with tenderneſs towards the chriſtians. There was but one inſtance, in which he diſappointed them: they flattered themſelves with the hopes of perſuading him at laſt to be a chriſtian; and he greatly encouraged theſe hopes by attending cloſely

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to their inſtruction, by praiſing their doctrine, and by his ſignal favours to them, their fellow-labourers and their followers. But he died without the pale of the church in the year 1722. As far as could be conjectured from his life and actions, he was of that perſuaſion, which among the *Tartars* is called the faith of the great *Genghiz-kam*. This religion conſiſts of ſome few tenets, which excepting the command of the ſabbath, bear great affinity to the ten commandments of *Moſes*.

But the chriſtian church in *China*, in the midſt of this viſible proſperity, during the reign of *Cam-hi*, continued internally divided and torn. The Jeſuits purſued their own manner of converting, and the other miſſionaries were offended at it, and preached a very different goſpel. Hence aroſe two congregations, which hated and deſpiſed each

each other. The Jeſuitical chriſtians honoured their anceſtors and Confucius: the reſt abhorred this practice as a ſpecies of idolatry. The latter treated the former as pretended or half chriſtians, and theſe again treated them as inſolent contemners of the laws of the empire. The diſorder was incurable, becauſe the laſt anſwer of the holy inquiſition had left both parties at liberty to act as they thought fit. The Dominicans, and their aſſociates, had not intereſt to procure a freſh decree, and the Jeſuits were too prudent to deſire one. The former therefore endured with regret an evil they could not redreſs, and waited for a favourable opportunity to revive the conteſt they could not continue. In the year 1684, fortune favoured them with ſuch an opportunity. A ſociety of clergy had been inſtituted at *Paris* in 1663, for the propagation of chriſtianity among the

infidel nations *. The members of this ſociety provide for the education and inſtruction of youth, in a houſe appropriated to the purpoſe, in order for their miſſion as apoſtles of Chriſt to thoſe that have not yet heard of the goſpel. The members themſelves accept this office, if called to it by the head of the church, or by thoſe, who, under him, have the care of the converſion of the heathens. Theſe miſſionaries are celebrated at *Rome*, as zealous, faithful and indefatigable men, and frequently the biſhops or legates of the Pope into the infidel countries, are choſen from their body. Some of them arrived in the year 1684 in *China*. The moſt diſtinguiſhed among theſe, was Charles Maigrot, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whom the Pope had dignified with the title of apoſtolical vicar, and

* *Gallia* Chriſtiana, Tom. VII. p. 1039. Congregatio ſacerdotum externarum miſſionum.

whom

whom the Jeſuits themſelves confeſs to have been a man of great piety and integrity. He became afterwards Biſhop of *Conon*. The new miſſionaries were barely arrived in *China*, when the Dominicans and their aſſociates, who had hitherto been forced to ſilence and ſubmiſſion, laid before them their complaints againſt the Jeſuits and their converts. They were heard with attention and favour. But it was proper to attack the Jeſuits with caution. Maigrot and his brethren took ſeveral years to conſider the matter in diſpute; at length, after a full examination, they joined with the party againſt the Jeſuits, and began with declaring, that the *Chineſe* words *Tien*, and *Chang-Ti*, were improper to denote the true God, whom chriſtians adore; ſince they ſignify no more than the viſible heaven: and in the next place that no chriſtian could, with a ſafe conſcience, comply with

with the *Chineſe* cuſtom of honouring Confucius and their anceſtors.

This declaration was the rupture which occaſioned that long and bitter animoſity between the Jeſuits and their fellow-labourers in *China*, tranſmitted through many changes to the preſent time. Maigrot uſed every argument and remonſtrance to bring the Jeſuits over to his opinion. But it was a vain expectation, that a body of men would be flexible, who poſſeſs the heart of the greateſt Monarch on earth, enjoy affluence, dignity and reſpect, and are beſides, in their own opinion, ſo much more wiſe and meritorious than other men. They perſiſted in their conduct, and threw out menaces of the Emperor's and the Pope's diſpleaſure. Maigrot was ſo little diſheartened at this, that it rather animated him. He commenced the war, and ventured to become

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the aggreſſor in the year 1693. A manifeſto of his was publiſhed, in which by virtue of his apoſtolical office, he interdicted, to all chriſtians and their teachers, the uſe of the names *Tien* or *Chang-Ti*, and the worſhip of Confucius, and their anceſtors, under pain of excommunication. This might be truly ſtiled a piece of ſpiritual heroiſm; that a ſtranger, who wanted both money and friends, and was neither a biſhop nor plenipotentiary from the Pope, ſhould dare to bid defiance to men, who enjoyed all the intimacy of friendſhip with the ſovereign of the country, and that he ſhould venture this, without applying to his principal at *Rome*, and by his own authority ſuperſede a decree of the holy inquiſition, and that confirmed by a Pope! Religious zeal makes no difficulty of ſurmounting ordinary rules; this ſeems to be his only excuſe. He was ſenſible

ſible himſelf, that his conduct would require much apology. In the ſame year therefore, in which he publiſhed his injunction, he ſent it to *Rome* with a letter to the Pope, and an humble petition, that judgment might be paſſed at *Rome*, whether he had done well or ill. In his letter to the Pope he complained ſtrongly of the Jeſuits, and aſſured his holineſs that it would draw tears from his eyes to ſee the miſchief and abominations introduced into the church in *China* by theſe eccleſiaſtics. Theſe papers and complaints were ſeconded very powerfully, in the year 1696, by the perſonal appearance and application of Charmot, a fellow-labourer of his. He earneſtly ſolicited the Pope, and the court of inquiſition, for a due examination and judicial deciſion of the affair, and was vigorouſly aſſiſted in his ſolicitation by the enemies of the Jeſuits, that is, by a very con-

conſiderable number of perſons of rank and abilities in all parts and countries of the *Romiſh* communion. The matter was delayed for ſome years at *Rome*, doubtleſs becauſe the Jeſuits employed all their friends and intereſt to prevent an inquiry. At laſt Pope Innocent the twelfth, who then filled the chair, was prevailed with, and appointed in the year 1699 a committee of the moſt learned and principal members of the holy office, maturely to examine and adjuſt this diſpute. But he died in 1700, before the committee had time to make any progreſs in it.

His ſucceſſor, Clement the eleventh, immediately upon his promotion to the papal ſee, ordered them to proceed. He was more favourably inclined to the ſociety of the Jeſuits than his predeceſſor. And had he followed his inclination, he would have ſaved them

their anxiety about the event, by diſſolving the committee. But the Pope is not always at liberty to indulge his own humour. The affair was become too important to be laid aſide. The church of *Rome* was alarmed, and all *Europe* waited impatiently to ſee on which ſide the victory would be conferred. Both parties employed the ableſt hands to ſet forth their cauſe in public writings. The ſociety at *Paris*, to which Maigrot, Charmot, and the other combatants of that party belonged, warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of their members, and printed a ſtrong addreſs to the Pope, in which they repreſented the Jeſuits in *China* as deceivers and corrupters of the faith: theſe, on the other hand, delivered a paper, which commanded attention and reſpect, and ſeemed alone more powerful, than all the writing and complaints of their adverſaries. The great

Emperor

Emperor *Cam-hi* ſent a teſtimony under his own hand, that the cuſtoms rejected by Maigrot, were mere political ceremonies, upon which the peace and welfare of the empire in ſome meaſure depended. And a thouſand *Chineſe*, believers as well as unbelievers, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, confirmed upon oath their Monarch's teſtimony. Never was an accuſation oppoſed by more ſpecious and reſpectable evidence. There was now no room to hinder the affair from taking its courſe. After ſix years had been ſpent in conſulting and deliberating, judgment was at length pronounced. On the 20th of November in the year 1704, the holy office decreed, "That "the two *Chineſe* words *Tien* and *Chang-Ti* ſhould no longer be applied to "God, but that inſtead of them the "word *Tien-Chu*, which ſignifies Lord

" of heaven, ſhould be introduced;
" that the tables upon which was writ-
" ten in *Chineſe* letters *King-Tien*, or
" the Honour of heaven, ſhould be re-
" moved from the chriſtian churches;
" that chriſtians ſhould by no means
" aſſiſt at thoſe ſacrifices, which are
" offered in ſpring and autumn, at the
" time of the equinox, to Confucius and
" their anceſtors; that they ſhould like-
" wiſe abſent themſelves from thoſe
" houſes and temples, which are built in
" honour of Confucius, in order to pay
" to that philoſopher the worſhip due to
" him from the *Literati* of the empire;
" that they ſhould thenceforward upon
" no account pay that worſhip, which
" is paid by the *Chineſe* to their an-
" ceſtors, where or in what manner
" ſoever it be offered; and in the
" laſt place, that thoſe tablets of their
" forefathers, upon which was written

" in

" in *Chineſe* letters, *The ſeat of the ſoul*
" *or ſpirit of* N. ſhould be removed
" from the houſes of all chriſtians."

Theſe ſevere injunctions were ſoftened by ſome little indulgences. The new converts were permitted to appear along with their relations in the halls of their forefathers, and to be ſpectators of the ceremonies there performed, but without partaking in them in the leaſt. The Inquiſition judged this might be done to avoid hatred and bitterneſs, eſpecially after a previous declaration, that they were chriſtians, and diſapproved of the cuſtom they were to attend. They were farther indulged in hanging up the tables of their anceſtors in their houſes, without any other inſcription but the name of the deceaſed, and a declaration affixed, containing the chriſtian faith concerning departed ſouls. And they were

allowed to retain ſuch of the ancient funeral rites, as were free from ſuperſtition and all appearance of it, provided they were firſt inſtructed by the biſhops and other principal divines, which of thoſe ceremonies might be eſteemed innocent. Theſe trivial indulgences were inſufficient to ſoften the reſentment of the Jeſuits at the unexpected decree.

Clement the eleventh had two years before this, in 1702, appointed a legate with almoſt unlimited powers, to viſit the new congregations of papiſtical chriſtians in *Aſia*, particularly the *Indian* and *Chineſe*, and by wholſome laws and regulations to accommodate the differences ariſen among them *. The perſon fixed upon, was Charles Tho-

* See his commiſſion and further accounts of him in *P. Norbert's Memoires Hiſtoriques ſur les Miſſions des* Indes Orientales. *Tom.* I. p. 111.

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mas de Tournon, of an ancient and noble family in *Lorrain*, a divine, who by his piety and probity had acquired the general eſteem and affection of the court of *Rome*. The Pope himſelf, to convey the higher authority to his office, conſecrated him patriarch of *Antioch* †. It is common at *Rome* to create patriarchs, archbiſhops and biſhops, as merely titular, as theatrical emperors and kings, I mean that they only repreſent certain patriarchs, archbiſhops and biſhops. Tournon was one of theſe nominal patriarchs, and had not the leaſt juriſdiction in the city, or territory, from which his title was borrowed. He embarked on the fifth of Auguſt 1703, and landed at *Pondicherry* on the coaſts of *Coromandel* on the ſixth of November in the ſame year. Here he ſtaid till

† *Du Halde* is much miſtaken in calling him Patriarch of *India*; but this is not his only miſtake.

the eleventh of July in the next year, and arrived in *China* in 1705. The Jeſuits received him with all the marks of honour which a legate of the Pope could expect from the ſubjects of his maſter. They even exceeded their duty: they procured him acceſs to the great at court, and an audience of the Emperor, permitted the moſt honourable of their converts to attend him in his public entries, and prevailed with the Emperor to diſtinguiſh him by various favours from all other ambaſſadors. But this reſpect laſted only whilſt they had hopes, that he would at leaſt have found out a medium betwixt them and their adverſaries. The moment he declared againſt *them*, a terrible ſtorm aroſe againſt *him*. Tournon was of that party in the church of *Rome*, who are called the *Rigids*, and therefore naturally an enemy to the Jeſuits and their doctrine, which is more

more lax and moderate. It might be eaſily foreſeen, that one of this character would not favour them, and their manner of converting: he ſignified as much ſoon after his arrival, but for ſome time kept his zeal within certain bounds. Whilſt he was prudent, they continued obliging and reſpectful. But his prudence fail'd him as ſoon as he had an account from *Europe* of the judgment of the Inquiſition againſt the Jeſuits. In the year 1707, he publiſhed a ſtrict ordinance in the name of the Pope, agreeably to the decree of the holy office, and under pain of excommunication prohibited all that was prohibited in that decree. This ſo embittered the Jeſuits, that they determined he ſhould feel the whole weight of their reſentment. They and their partizans firſt appealed from him to the Pope, and thereby evaded the cenſure of diſobedience.

dience. Next they repreſented his procedure to the Emperor, as a violation of his prerogative. Indeed it is hard to acquit him of a crime like this. *Cam-hi*, as was related before, had ſent a writing under his own hand to *Rome* to diſculpate the Jeſuits, and atteſt, that the *Chineſe* meant by the word *Tien*, not Heaven, but that Infinite Spirit, who dwells in heaven, and governs the univerſe; and that the ceremonies permitted by the Jeſuits were not religious, but political, and ancient cuſtoms of the empire. And here a ſtranger, a legate of an *European* biſhop, boldly and publicly oppoſes the Emperor, and in his own dominions, without his knowledge, makes a law to prohibit the ſubjects from practices enjoined by the laws of the empire. No ſovereign prince would ſuffer a conduct like this to paſs with impunity. It is doubtleſs, that Tournon, pious as his meaning

ing was, far tranſgreſſed the bounds of prudence and reſpect. He was, in truth, not qualified to diſcharge reputably and uſefully the great and important commiſſion he was intruſted with. His good diſpoſition was under the influence of a narrow ſpirit and weak underſtanding, of which his writings, letters, and injunctions, printed by Norbert and others, furniſh abundant proof: they contain dry and inſipid thoughts, ſo ſwelled, indeed, by pompous expreſſion, that the careleſs and injudicious reader can hardly diſtinguiſh their flatneſs and impotence. *Cam-hi* was exceedingly provoked, when the Jeſuits informed him, that the *European*, to whom he had been ſo gracious, had preſumed to withſtand him and his edict, and to know more of the religion of his country than himſelf. He therefore immediately publiſhed a ſtrict mandate, by which all

Romiſh eccleſiaſtics in *China* were forbid, under ſevere penalties, to teach any thing contrary to the laws of the empire, and to the ancient traditions of the *Chineſe*. Moſt of them obeyed. The few, who paid greater regard to the patriarch's injunction, were impriſoned, treated with great ſeverity, and baniſhed the empire. Tournon himſelf was ordered immediately to quit the country, or to be puniſhed as a traitor. He did not wait for the reception of this order, but haſtened to *Macao*, there to embark, and avoid the fury of the Emperor, or rather of the Jeſuits. But whilſt he was preparing for his departure, it was recollected at the court of *Pe-king*, that if he was ſuffered to return to *Rome*, he would certainly make heavy complaints of his perſecutors. A freſh order was iſſued to ſecure his perſon and detain him a priſoner at *Macao*,

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till the return of two Jeſuits, whom the Emperor diſpatched to *Rome*. The unfortunate Tournon was forced to change his character of an apoſtolical legate and law-giver, for that of a ſtate-priſoner, and to paſs four years in great trouble and anxiety, under a ſtrong guard, in the houſe of the Biſhop of *Macao*. His enemies the Jeſuits were his keepers, and they doubtleſs were not negligent of their charge. It is poſſible, that their adverſaries have conſiderably aggravated his diſtreſſes and indignities in priſon. They did not probably ſo far forget the prudence eſſential to their order, as to treat a legate of the Pope, like a common malefactor. And they could never have been pardoned at *Rome*, had they been entirely unmindful of their duty to the Pope and him. But thus much is certain, that whatever little reſpect they may have ſhewn him,

was

was mixed with various inſtances of bitterneſs, contempt and mortification *. Clement the eleventh was amazed when he heard of the fate of his legate, and thought the beſt method of alleviating his miſery was to raiſe him to the higheſt dignity next to his own. He honoured the priſoner with a cardinal's hat, in hopes that his mercileſs keepers would treat a cardinal with more civility and reſpect than a patriarch. But the new cardinal and the authority he affected, were ſub-

* Clement the eleventh, *in the bull of excommunication he publiſhed againſt the Biſhop of* Macao, *who was among the moſt bitter of* Tournon's *enemies, deſcribes his ſufferings in the following words*; Innotuit nobis quod *Carolus Thomas Tournonius*—tametſi tunc temporis in civitate *Macaonenſi*, non quidem à paganis, ſed ab officialibus & miniſtris Chriſtianis—multorum militum diurna nocturnaque cuſtodia, ut captivus detineretur, aliiſque acerbiſſimis & plane incredibilibus injuriis & contumeliis, ipſis exhorreſcentibus Ethnicis, afflictus reperiretur—nihilominus, &c. *See* Norbert's Memoires, Tom. I. p. 304.

ject

ject of ridicule at *Macao*. His troubles continued till a ſevere fit of ſickneſs put an end to his life on the eighth day of June, 1711. The adverſaries of the Jeſuits pretended all over *Europe*, that he had been poiſoned, and that the poiſon was adminiſtered to him at *Pe-king* by Pereyra a Jeſuit †. But this rumour has rather the air of calumny. To what purpoſe can they be ſuppoſed to have impriſoned him at *Macao*, and prevented his voyage, if they were aſſured, that he carried death in his boſom. The motion of the ſhip and other inconveniences of ſo long a paſſage muſt have haſtened the effect of the poiſon, and ſoon put an end to his miſerable life. It is reproach ſufficient to the Jeſuits, that they cannot clear them-

† Anecdotes de la *Chine*, Tom. I. p. 88.

ſelves

ſelves of the imputation of extreme injuſtice and violence exerciſed upon a legate of the Pope, a cardinal, and a man of piety. The body of the deceaſed cardinal was, after ſome years, conveyed to *Europe*, and his funeral obſequies were performed at *Rome*, amidſt the tears and lamentation of the Pope and all his court. Clement the eleventh, in a celebrated panegyrical oration, which he ſpoke in memory of him in a full congregation of cardinals, extols him as a ſaint and a martyr *. And if the Jeſuits had leſs power at the court of *Rome*, than they have, he would probably before now have been admitted into the kalendar of that church. Their enemies are waiting for a convenient opportunity to ſolicit the canonization of

* *It may be found among the other ſpeeches of this Pope in P. Norbert's* Memoires ſur les Miſſions Orientales, Tom. II. p. 6.

this

this great ſacrifice to their reſentment and to his own indiſcretion.

The overthrow of cardinal Tournon was of no uſe towards the recovery of the jeſuitical cauſe; it rather inflamed matters more. The Pope, before he received advice of the impriſonment of Tournon, had approved, and in every reſpect confirmed his injunction. It was therefore neceſſary to carry on the ſame meaſure. The holy office aſſembled on the twenty-fifth of September, in the year 1710, in preſence of the Pope, and came to a new reſolution, or rather confirmed and improved that formerly made. They rejected the appeal to the Pope, with which the Jeſuits in *China* had warded off the cardinal's injunction; and decreed, that, without farther exception or objection, the judgment paſſed in the year 1704, and the injunction

of Cardinal Tournon ſhould remain in full force. They prohibited beſides, under the moſt ſevere eccleſiaſtical penalties, the publication of any books or pamphlets concerning the *Chineſe* ceremonies, and declared previouſly, that all ſuch, as ſhould appear from the preſs, ſhould be ranked among the liſt of prohibited books †. This ſeems to be a clear and ſtrong decree; but it was not ſtrong enough to humble the mighty Jeſuits. Extenſive as the papal power is, it cannot reach them at the court of *Pe-king*, in the Emperor of *China's* palace *. The decree was immediately ſent to the Biſhop

† *The title of this decree runs thus:* Declaratio ſuper omnimoda ac inviolabili reſponſorum aliàs in cauſâ rituum ſeu ceremoniarum Sinenſium à ſacrâ congregatione datorum, & à ſanctiſſimo approbatorum cum aliis ordinationibus. *The preſent Pope has inſerted it entire in his laſt bull,* Ex quo ſingulari, *&c.*

* *The preſent Pope in his bull juſt mentioned complains thus:* Nec decretum hujuſmodi ad difficiles animos ſubjiciendos valuit.

of

of *Pe king* who reſides at the city *Linzing-teou*, and he was ordered forthwith to cauſe it to be delivered to the Jeſuits. It arrived towards the end of the year 1713, and in January 1714, the biſhop diſpatched his vicar-general Charles Caſtorani, a Franciſcan monk, to deliver it into the hands of the Court-Jeſuits. Caſtorani executed his commiſſion with great humility, and was received with extraordinary inſolence. They told him without ceremony, that if he ſhould preſume to read this decree, or any way to divulge it, they would complain of him to the Emperor. He underſtood their meaning, and having no ambition of martyrdom, retired privately, well ſatisfied with experiencing no other effect of their reſentment, but contempt †.

The

† Caroli Caſtorani notæ & obſervationes in bullam

The Jeſuits invented various apologies for this freſh inſtance of diſobedience. But it was at length determined at *Rome*, to diſregard their pretences and humble their pride. Clement the eleventh was ſo provoked upon the firſt news of this obſtinate rebellion of his beloved ſons, as he calls them, that he immediately proceeded to the celebrated bull *Ex illa die*. It was drawn up with expedition, and iſſued out on the nineteenth of March in the next year 1715*. This famous bull anſwers in *Aſia* to

bullam Benedicti XIV. ſupra ceremonias & ritus Sinicos, p. 35. *Non ſine mei injuriâ*, ſays he, *ad prædictum dominum Epiſcopum redivi.*

* *It is intitled thus:* Clementis Papæ XI. Præceptum ſuper omnimoda, abſoluta, integra & inviolabili obſervatione eorum, quæ aliàs à Sanctitate ſua in cauſa rituum ſeu ceremoniarum Sinenſium decreta fuerunt: cum rejectione quarumcunque rationum, ſeu excuſationum ad ejuſmodi decretorum executionem declarandam allatarum, ac præſcriptione formulæ juramenti per Miſſionarios illarum partium præſentes & futuros hac in re præſtandi.

the

the ſame Pope's bull *Unigenitus* in *Europe*. The former controverted, the latter defended by the Jeſuits; the former proved the ſource of great confuſion among the papiſts in *Aſia*, the latter in *Europe*. Both have been the occaſion of an expence, trouble and detriment to the papal ſee, of which it is not eaſy to foretell the end. Never was Pope ſo unfortunate in his bulls as Clement the eleventh. The conſtitution *Ex illa die* is in ſome meaſure a contraſt to that called *Unigenitus*. It redreſſes as it were by its zeal againſt the lax and indulgent maxims of the Jeſuits, all the grievance occaſioned by the conſtitution *Unigenitus*, which favoured them and their doctrine. Hence the Jeſuits are as much offended at the former, as the Janſeniſts at the latter. The Pope begins with reciting all that had been done in the *Chineſe* controverſy. Next

he ſets forth, with expreſſions of grief, the many artful inventions, wherewith the Jeſuits, whom he does not mention, had preſumed to invalidate the laſt decree of the holy ſee, clear and limited as it was. To obviate at once and for ever this unaccountable inſolence, he commands in the ſtrongeſt terms a Pope is capable of, all the clergy in *China*, and the monks in particular, under pain of that excommunication, which none but the Pope himſelf can remit, except in the hour of death, ſtrictly to obſerve as ſacred, the decrees hitherto paſſed by the Inquiſition, and the ordinance of the Cardinal Tournon, and under no pretence whatever to tranſgreſs them. With the ſame rigour and caution he enjoins all eccleſiaſtics, who ſhould be ſent to *China*, and other *Aſiatic* countries, to take an oath to obey his commands without any reſerve, and that

no

no perſon whatever ſhould be admitted to the loweſt office, without having previouſly taken this oath. To ſecure the obſervation of it more ſtrongly, the oath was not only to be taken *vivâ voce*, but to be ſubſcribed by every eccleſiaſtic, and the oaths thus ſubſcribed were all to be tranſmitted to the holy office at *Rome*. In the laſt place the Pope commands, with the higheſt degree of caution and ſeverity, that no ancient indulgences, no general or particular rights and privileges, no tradition, no evaſions, whether already invented, or thereafter to be invented, ſhould avail in the leaſt againſt theſe conſtitutions, and that they ſhould remain in force as an eternal and irrevocable law. It was concluded with an expreſs order, that this bull ſhould be ſent and notified to all the clergy, and eſpecially to the Jeſuits. It is needleſs to recite

the oath at large. The juror was to oblige himſelf exactly, abſolutely, inviolably and without any evaſion to obey the bull *, and acknowledge himſelf worthy, in caſe of diſobedience, of the puniſhment there threatened. There is not one among all the decrees of the biſhops of *Rome* ſo accurately and cautiouſly worded, or ſo minutely guarded againſt every poſſible exception and evaſion. The lawyers, who prepared it, exhauſted their whole ſtock of ſuch words, as might be effectual to diſarm thoſe men that ſtudy to tranſgreſs under the colour of law.

An *Engliſh* ſhip carried over this terrible bull to *China*, and it was diſperſed amongſt the *Romiſh* clergy of the empire, before the Jeſuits knew of its arrival. Had theſe been ear-

* Exactè, abſolutè, inviolabiliter & abſque ulla tergiverſatione.

lier

lier apprized of it, the Emperor would probably have ſent a countermand to meet and annul it. It was neceſſary however, in obedience to the Pope's order, to preſent it to them, and notify it in their churches at *Pe-king*. This was the ruin of the bull. Honeſt Caſtorani, by his biſhop's command, undertook this dangerous office, and unfortunately for himſelf executed it with ſucceſs. He arrived at *Pe-king* on the fifth of November in 1716, and on the ſame day without any previous notice to the Jeſuits, read the decree he was charged with in three of their churches. But he was ill rewarded for his pains. On the third day after his arrival, an officer of ſtate, by the Emperor's order, cauſed him to be fettered with a chain of extraordinary weight and ſtrength at his neck, hands and feet, and thus loaded to be thrown into a dungeon, as

a traitor

a traitor who had dared to introduce foreign laws into the empire. His troubles laſted ſeventeen months. Sometimes he was indulged with a certain degree of liberty, and again ſhut up in cloſe confinement, ſometimes ſent to *Canton*, and then recalled to *Pe-king*. At laſt he obtained his liberty, upon condition, that he ſhould carry the bull back to his biſhop, and not dare to divulge it any farther*. This ſecured only the capital againſt the thundring bull; to defeat the terror of it in the reſt of the empire, his imperial Majeſty by a ſevere edict notified to all papiſts, that he would immediately baniſh them from his dominions, and cauſe their *Chineſe* converts to be put to death without diſtinction, if they paid more regard to the Pope than to him, and attempted

* Caſtorani notæ in bullam Benedicti XIV. Sect. ii. p. 35, &c.

to

to execute *Romiſh* laws. And theſe menaces were not merely verbal. It appeared in ſome places, that the government was in earneſt, and would not ſuffer itſelf to be inſulted with impunity.

The Jeſuits, who were the original founders of this and much more miſchief, lamented it no leſs than thoſe who felt the weight of it. They complained heavily in their writings and converſation, that the court of *Rome* was under the influence of perſons neither diſcreet nor experienced, that bulls were tranſmitted to *China*, which tended to deſolate the Lord's vineyard. "When will his Holineſs, ſaid they, "and our enemies who miſlead him, "awake and learn diſcretion? Not, "it is to be feared, till they find it "too late. We waſh our hands; we "have delivered our ſouls from the "burthen.

" burthen. Let the blood of the poor " chriſtians in *China*, whom this bull " perhaps will bring to a fatal end, " fall upon the councils that dictated " it. We have done our utmoſt to " ſoften the Emperor's reſentment. " We have implored and intreated " him. But he is inexorable in mat- " ters that affect the ancient funda- " mental laws of the empire."

Theſe complaints however did not exempt the Jeſuits from the duty of obeying the bull, and every precept it contained. The ſubjects of the Pope, and the Jeſuits as much as any, are obliged to ſubmit to his ordinances, though all the kings and infidels upon earth ſhould oppoſe them. The ſupremacy he aſſumes, as vice-gerent of Chriſt, would be merely titular indeed, if the laws and menaces of heathen kings had power to annul and invalidate his apoſtolical precepts.

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The Jeſuits therefore not knowing how to palliate their diſobedience in the eyes of the Emperor, reſolved to ſeek for ſome ſubterfuge in the bull itſelf. But this ſeemed impoſſible to find in a decree penned with ſo much caution and ſubtlety, as this *Ex illa die*. However jeſuitical ſagacity ſurmounts all difficulties. The evaſion, which the bull itſelf will not afford, is diſcovered in the title. It was inſcribed, *Præceptum de omnimodâ*, &c. This ſingle word furniſhed the Jeſuits with all they wanted. "A Precept, ſaid "they, is no law. The Pope himſelf "calls his Bull no more than a Pre- "cept. Undoubtedly a Precept from "him claims the moſt profound re- "ſpect; but it is not an indiſputable "article of faith which muſt be im- "plicitly acquieſced in. We are there- "fore not bound tenaciouſly to ad-

"here

"here to this bull." This artifice of theirs will appear like a piece of ſlander. But it is atteſted by a hand of great authority in the preſent caſe, of the higheſt authority to the Jeſuits themſelves. The preſent Pope Benedict the fourteenth is my author, and to obviate all doubts on this head, I have quoted his own words in the note *.

The conſternation occaſioned at *Rome*, by this unexpected and diſagreeable news from *China*, may be eaſily imagined. It was now apparent, that all orders and conſtitutions would be vain, and the

* *His words in the bull* Ex quo ſingulari, &c. *are theſe:* Nihilominus inobedientes & captioſi homines exactam ejuſdem conſtitutionis (Clementis XI.) obſervantiam ſe effugere poſſe putarunt, EX RATIONE, QUOD ILLA PRÆCEPTI TITULUM PRÆFERT, quaſi vero non indiſſolubilis legis, ſed præcepti mere eccleſiaſtici vim haberet.

Jeſuits

Jeſuits prove invincible, unleſs the Emperor could be gained, and a protection obtained for the obnoxious bull from him. The Pope therefore reſolved to ſend a legation to the Emperor, to intreat him, that he would permit the clergy to obſerve his bull. The legate was Charles Anthony Mezzabarba, a *Milaneſe*, who died Biſhop of *Lodi* ſome years ago. His Holineſs created him patriarch of *Alexandria* to add luſtre and dignity to his commiſſion. He embarked at *Liſbon* March 25, 1720, landed at *Macao* September the twenty-ſixth of the ſame year, and re-embarked for *Europe*, with the body of his predeceſſor Cardinal Tournon, on the thirteenth of December, 1721. It is not above eight or nine years ago, ſince the world has had a circumſtantial account of his negotiations, ſufferings and dangers, publiſhed by his direction. The editor was P. Viani, his

confeſſor and fellow-traveller *. All that was known of his ſucceſs before that time was, that he had conducted himſelf with more prudence, and therefore met with better treatment than Tournon, and that he in ſome meaſure explained and ſoftened the bull of Clement the eleventh according to the humour of the Jeſuits. Indeed the choice of him was more judicious, than that of the cardinal. Mezzabarba was a man of ſound judgment and quick apprehenſion, perfectly knew

* Iſtoirie delle coſe operate nella China da Monſignor Gio-Ambroſio Mezzabarba, Patriarca d' Aleſſandria, Legato Apoſtolico, in quell' Impero et di preſente Vaſcovo de Lodi. Scritta dal Padre *Viani* ſuo Confeſſore e Compagno nella predetta Legazione. Opera data adeſſo la prima volta alla luce. In Parigi. Appreſſo Monſu Briaſſon. 1739. *Though the title dates it from* Paris, *the book was without doubt printed privately in* Italy. *A large extract of it may be ſeen in the* Bibliotheque raiſonnée, Tom. XXV. P. I. p. 101, and P. II. p. 326. *See likewiſe* P. Norbert's Memoires ſur les Miſſions Orientales, Tom. II. p. 256, &c.

the

the world, poſſeſſed all the art and fineſſe of an Italian, was never diſconcerted in the moſt ſudden circumſtances of danger, and always deliberated before he ſpoke. Without departing in the leaſt from his dignity, he paid all the reſpect due to the perſon of the Emperor, and in the midſt of his zeal againſt the Jeſuits, expreſſed marks of reverence to him as ſovereign of the country, and to his ſubſtitutes. The Emperor received him moſt graciouſly, and gave him frequent audience. But notwithſtanding the honours that were ſhewn him, he was in continual fear and danger of his life. He complains in his paſtoral letter, of which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to take notice, that his reſidence in *China* was atttended with fear and trembling, becauſe he knew not how to ſpeak the wiſdom of this

world*. And indeed he might probably have found it difficult to eſcape impriſonment, or perhaps even death, had he not, in his greateſt extremity, ſignified to the Jeſuits the powers he had to moderate the obnoxious bull by ſome favourable explanations. He was never admitted to an audience at court without ſome bitter mortification. *Cam-hi* was lively, ingenious, and much diſpoſed to raillery. He frequently made his ſport of the pope, the legate, the bull and the *Romiſh* faith itſelf. Sometimes he ſpoke with warmth of Tournon, Maigrot, and the other opponents of his friends the Jeſuits Mezzabarba was obliged to be cautious and reſpectful in his anſwers to the Emperor's jeſts and menaces.

* Quia non ſapientiam hujus ſæculi locuti fuimus, in timore & tremore multo fuimus apud vos.

But

But he was entirely diſappointed in the principal ſubject of his legation. The Emperor ſubſcribed the bull, in red ink, with his *Ci*, that is his authoritative declaration concerning it. "The "bull, ſays he, in my opinion con- "cerns only the common *Europeans*, "and does not at all affect the great "and venerable doctrine of the *Chi-* "*neſe*. It contains many abſurdities "and falſhoods, and the beſt ſtep we "can take to put a final end to theſe "diſputes, is, to prohibit the *Euro-* "*peans* from preaching their law in "our empire." The legate had nothing farther to ſolicit, but leave to return to *Europe*, and inform his Holineſs of the Emperor's opinion and reſolution. He continued to be variouſly mortified for ſome time, both by the Jeſuits and at court, and was at laſt permitted to depart.

He was detained at *Macao* ſix months after his return from *Pe-king*. Part of this time he ſpent in writing that celebrated paſtoral letter to the *Romiſh* clergy in *China*, to which alone may be attributed all the praiſe conferred on him by Du Halde and the reſt of the Jeſuits. This piece contains the eight indulgences, or limitations of the bull *Ex illa die*, &c. under the protection of which the Jeſuits have for ſome time paſt, without hindrance or moleſtation, violated it. I beg leave briefly to relate the hiſtory of theſe indulgences from the words of the preſent Pope Benedict the fourteenth, who hath repealed them.

Whilſt Mezzabarba was at *Rome*, preparing for his voyage, ſome doubts and queries, concerning the delivery of this bull, had been laid before two

perſons

perſons, who had reſided long in *China*. Theſe two were probably Jeſuits. The Pope mentions neither their names, nor their order. He ſeems diſpleaſed at them, yet ſtudies to conceal his diſpleaſure. They delivered in an anſwer to the queries and doubts propoſed to them. The anſwer was ſent after the legate, who was then departed, that he might make uſe of it at his diſcretion, as the circumſtances of times and affairs ſhould require. The Pope expreſſes himſelf with the utmoſt reſerve and obſcurity. He ſeems afraid to divulge the ſecret of theſe queries and anſwers. But it is eaſy to diſcern his meaning without uncommon ſagacity. The Jeſuits, who apprehended great danger from a freſh legation to *China*, took care by their connexions at *Rome*, to procure a perſon who might raiſe certain caſuiſtical difficulties and queries concerning the bull, and to

have the deciſion thereof left to their brethren or friends. It is eaſy to conjecture both the doubts and the anſwers from Mezzabarba's indulgences. After this, methods were uſed to perſuade the Pope, that it would be adviſeable to ſend both anſwers and queries after the legate, with full powers to make uſe of them in caſe of neceſſity, and mitigate the ſeverity of the bull. The Pope however was cautious enough, neither to confirm, nor add to this writing. Hence, as Benedict the fourteenth urges, the apoſtolical ſee retained a right, either to approve or condemn the contents thereof, as ſhould ſeem good and expedient. Mezzabarba was very unwilling to produce this ſecret part of his commiſſion. He inſiſted, as long as he could, with vehemence, upon the reception and obſervation of the bull without any reſerve or limitation. But when he

was

was ſo cloſely beſet both by the court and the Jeſuits, as to be in danger of his life, his fears prevailed, and incited him to confeſs, that he had an order from the Pope to mitigate matters in ſome reſpects. They took him at his word, and inſiſted, when he came to *Macao*, upon his performing the promiſe made at *Pe-king*. Had he declined it, he might have met with the fate of his predeceſſor, and ended his days in a priſon. Benedict the fourteenth plainly declares, that he was tortured into a compliance with their requeſts *.

His paſtoral letter to the *Romiſh* clergy in *China*, which was dated at *Macao* November 4, 1721, begins with a loud and heavy complaint of the ſufferings

* In iis anguſtiis ſe poſitum intellexit, ut coactus fuerit in publicum emittere permiſſiones octo.

and anxieties he underwent in *China*. Then follows a moving exhortation to the clergy to be ſtudious of peace, and obedient to the commands of the holy ſee. "Theſe commands, adds "he, are contained in the Pope's bull, "and I neither can, nor will in the "leaſt invalidate their force." But as doubts had ariſen concerning ſeveral *Chineſe* cuſtoms, he deſires to take notice of ſome few particulars, which may be tolerated. Firſt, he permits the *Chineſe* chriſtians to hang up in their houſes tables with the names of their anceſtors inſcribed, and to make uſe thereof, provided a declaration be affixed to them, and they be guarded againſt ſuperſtition. In the next place, he permits all ſuch ceremonial honours to the deceaſed, in uſe among the *Chineſe*, as are free from ſuperſtition and even from the imputation of it. He permits in the third place, the honour

paid

paid to Confucius, ſo far as the ſame is political, and particularly deems it lawful, to burn incenſe, light candles and place meats before the tables, upon which only his name was written, and an explanatory declaration annexed. His fourth indulgence permits incenſe and lights to be offered at funerals, provided only that a note be delivered in, explaining the true intention of the perſon offering them. Next he permits chriſtians to proſtrate themſelves before the tables of Confucius and their forefathers, and even before the coffins of their own kindred. In the ſixth place, he indulges them in offering in honour of the deceaſed, at their coffins and tablets, ſweetmeats, fruits, fleſh and other meats, provided it be done without any prejudice to the faith. From this he proceeds to tolerate all proſtration, on New-year's-

day

day as well as at other times, before that table which is called *Ko-teu*. Laſtly, he permits lights and incenſe before theſe tables, and diſhes of meat to be ſerved up at graves.

The Jeſuits could have wiſhed for no more, and more could not be done to defeat and invalidate the bull. The legate was ſenſible of this, and being unwilling to expoſe the Pope, and the weakneſs of his decree to all the world, added in the concluſion of his letter and a ſtrict injunction to all eccleſiaſtics in *China*, to the Jeſuits in particular, under pain of excommunication, not to tranſlate this letter either into the *Chineſe* or *Tartar* tongue, nor to communicate it to any but thoſe who came in the office of miſſionaries to *China*. The indulgences contained in this piece could not be entirely withheld from

the people, but the clergy were charged to diſpenſe them cautiouſly, and reſerve them for the higheſt exigency.

At Mezzabarba's return to *Rome*, Clement the eleventh was deceaſed. Innocent the thirteenth ſucceeded him. The new elected Pope was enraged at the legate's report of his fruitleſs negociations, of his perils and ſufferings. In the firſt heat of his reſentment he reſolved to aboliſh the ſociety of Jeſuits. But the remonſtrances of ſome prudent men abated the violence of this flame, which however they were not able totally to extinguiſh. The Pope commanded the general of the order to recall all his Jeſuits from *China*, that the refractory might be brought to condign puniſhment, and forbad the increaſe of the ſociety by new members, till further notice from him *. What

* Journal Univerſel, Tom. VII. p. 460.

could

could be done in theſe circumſtances? There was but one expedient left, the promiſe of obedience, and they had the comfort, in the mean while, of hoping that time would extricate them from this great diſtreſs. Their hopes were gratified ſooner than could be expected. The death of Innocent vacated the ſee of *Rome*, and relieved the anxious Jeſuits. His ſucceſſor, Benedict the fourteenth, the preſent Pope, proved much more tractable. He accepted every promiſe that was made him; the Jeſuits recovered their former ſituation, and the affairs in *China*, of which the confidents of his Holineſs did not find their account, lay dormant for a conſiderable time.

Whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting at *Rome*, the church in *China* loſt, in the perſon of her protector, all her tranquillity and happineſs. The great

Emperor

Emperor *Cam-hi*, the patron and diſciple of the Jeſuits, eſpecially thoſe of *France*, died on the twentieth of December, 1722, and before his deceaſe placed the crown, he was obliged to relinquiſh, upon the head of *Yong-Tching* his fourth ſon. The Emperors of *China* have, by the ancient laws of the empire, a right to elect for a ſucceſſor from among their ſons, him who ſeems beſt qualified for a wiſe and happy reign. The Jeſuits, by their power over the heart of *Cam-hi* had contributed not a little to the election of *Yong-Tching*. He had diſcovered ſo early an inclination to them, and to the chriſtian cauſe, that they formed better hopes of him, than of all the other ſons of the Emperor. But they became ſenſible of their miſtake as ſoon as he mounted the throne. His people admired in him all the good qualities of his father, except his partiality to the

Jeſuits

Jeſuits and their faith. *Yong-Tching* continued to eſteem them, and retained them at court and in pay, as ingenious artiſts, painters, watchmakers, aſtronomers, geometricians, and phyſicians. But he neither admitted them to a ſhare of his political cares, nor of his time, nor of his affection. They remained in his palace, but in no other condition, than that of mechanics and officers kept for purpoſes of convenience and amuſement. This gave encouragement to thoſe among the *Chineſe*, who had been obliged in the late reign to ſtifle their diſlike of the chriſtians and their faith. The Emperor hearkened with attention to all their repreſentations. He unexpectedly repealed the edict publiſhed by his father in favour of the chriſtian religion, prohibited his ſubjects from embracing the law of the *Europeans*, and permitted his governors of provinces and offi-

cers

cers of ſtate to perſecute the chriſtians and demoliſh their churches. It is needleſs to add, that they made uſe of this permiſſion. A blind religious zeal, that has been long under a painful reſtraint, is naturally apt, when indulged, to break out with additional violence. The Emperor himſelf headed, and by his example animated the party againſt the chriſtian faith He ordered all *Romiſh* eccleſiaſtics in his dominions into cuſtody in the cities of *Canton* and *Pe-king*, to prevent any farther exerciſe of their function. Some time after, they were yet cloſer confined, upon his being informed, that they continued to diſcharge their duty in private. At length all but the Jeſuits, who reſided at *Pe-king*, were baniſhed to the little town of *Macao*, which is in ſome meaſure ſubject to the *Portugueſe*, and lies on the ſea-coaſts, in the remoteſt part of the empire.

pire. The Jeſuits, as their ſole dependence was not upon preaching, reading maſs, or hearing confeſſion, ſuffered leaſt by this dreadful ſtorm, and took all opportunities to ſoften the Emperor's diſpleaſure, and apologize for their perſecuted brethren. But the only anſwer they had was a gracious repulſe, and they were forced to acquieſce in a connivance for themſelves, and the privilege to carry on their ſpiritual labours at court, and in the capital, without interruption. Their adverſaries imputed all this miſchief to them, pretending that they were detected in a conſpiracy againſt the Emperor, and thereby provoked this perſecution of the chriſtians. But the charge is highly improbable. The Emperor would hardly have entertained at his court, and have diſtinguiſhed, from the reſt of their brethren, by his favour, a ſet of men, whom he knew

to

to have formed deſigns againſt his government and life. The Jeſuits on the other hand derive this calamity from the bull *Ex illa die*. And doubtleſs they ſeem, in this inſtance, to have more reaſon on their ſide. It is poſſible, that *Yong-Tchihg* grew impatient at the diſputes occaſioned by this decree between the *Romiſh* prieſts, and his chriſtian ſubjects, and ſo, to prevent all farther animoſity, prohibited the chriſtian religion itſelf.

It is uſual for perſecutions, if not to appeaſe inteſtine controverſies in the church, at leaſt to effect a ceſſation of arms. The foreign enemy purſues both contending parties indifferently, engages all the attention, which before they employed againſt each other, and converts their redundant ſpirits into fear and anxiety. By theſe means he

unites the minds of the perſecuted, better than all mediators or lawgivers. But the ſufferings and adverſities of the church in *China* had not this happy effect. The war among the clergy was carried on with the ſame life and vigour, when they were impriſoned and beſet by their enemies, as in the times of peace and liberty. The indulgences of Mezzabarba extended the wounds they were meant to heal. The adverſaries of the Jeſuits oppoſed theſe indulgences as warmly, as the Jeſuits did the bull itſelf, and abſolutely refuſed to receive or acknowledge them as valid. Francis Sarazeni, Biſhop of *Lorima*, even circulated a paſtoral letter, prohibiting upon pain of excommunication, the obſervation or introduction of thoſe indulgences*. How ſtrange-

* Caſtorani obſervationes in bullam Benedict XIV. p. 40.

ly

ly men are blinded by their paſſions! This was doing the very thing for which the Jeſuits had been ſo bitterly reproached. They were condemned for refuſing immediate obedience to the injunctions of Tournon and Maigrot. And certainly Mezzabarba was equal in dignity to Tournon and ſuperior to Maigrot; conſequently his indulgences claimed the ſame reſpect at leaſt with their injunctions. This inconſiderate piece of obſtinacy ſo enflamed the Jeſuits, that they raſhly plunged themſelves into a freſh offence, great enough to revive the memory of all their former tranſgreſſions, and entirely ruin their cauſe at *Rome*. Mezzabarba had expreſly prohibited the tranſlation of his paſtoral letter, or the publication of the indulgences it contained. The Jeſuits ventured to violate this command. They diſperſed

his indulgences among all the *Chineſe* chriſtians, and endeavoured to *impoſe* them upon thoſe, to whom they were obnoxious. The aſſiſtance of an eminent biſhop was requiſite for this purpoſe. They obtained that of the new Biſhop of *Pe-king*, Franciſcus de Purificatione, who was promoted in the year 1731. This prelate perceived ſoon after his arrival, that the good-will of the Jeſuits at *Pe-king* was of more conſequence to him, than the favour of the Pope. They influenced him to charge the clergy of his dioceſe, in two public inſtruments addreſſed to them, dated July the ſixth, and December the twenty-third in the year 1733, upon pain of degradation, to pay as ſacred a regard to the indulgences of Mezzabarba, as to the bull *Ex illa die*, and publicly to read to the people in all churches, on the four moſt

ſolemn

ſolemn feſtivals of the year, both the contents of the bull, and the reſervations added to it by Mezzabarba *.

This was no leſs than a public challenge. The combatants on the other ſide haſtened to arms. Caſtorani, vicar to the Biſhop of *Pe-king*, and heretofore a martyr to the bull *Ex illa die*, who had ſpent thirty-three years in his function in *China*, told his biſhop to his face, that he would never pay him obedience in this point. The example of ſo venerable a man diffuſed a ſpirit of rebellion among the clergy. At length it became ripe enough for a reſolution to diſpatch the good old Caſtorani to *Rome*, in order to complain of the Jeſuits and the biſhop, and ſolicit the abrogation of Mezzabarba's indulgences. Perhaps the Jeſuits and their adherents

* *See* Caſtorani obſervat, *and the bull of* Benedict XIV. *entitled* Ex quo ſingulari, &c.

made their ſport of the age and ſimplicity of this ambaſſador. He confeſſes himſelf to be neither eloquent, nor learned, nor ſagacious; and thoſe little pieces of his, that have hitherto appeared in print, confirm the truth of his confeſſion. They diſcover nothing but a zealous, honeſt Franciſcan friar, neither infected by the air of the court and a knowledge of the world, nor corrupted by the vanity of learning and ſcience. But his want of parts and penetration was amply ſupplied by his zeal, integrity, experience, conſtancy, gray hairs, the reputation of a confeſſor, and ſeventeen months ſuffering on account of the bull *Ex illa die*. A pious ſimplicity has often got the better of worldly prudence. Caſtorani arrived at *Rome* about the end of the year 1734, in the papacy of Clement the twelfth, to whom he immediately opened his commiſſion. The Pope left

the

the matter to the examination of ſeveral cardinals, and after ten months intreaty, attendance and ſolicitation, as Caſtorani himſelf relates, his Holineſs by a brief, dated September the twenty-ſixth 1735, abſolutely revoked and annulled the two letters of the biſhop of *Pe-king*, who was juſt then deceaſed *.

This was Caſtorani's firſt victory. But he did not reſt here. His principal point was to invalidate the indulgences of Mezzabarba. He therefore proceeded in his undertaking with inexpreſſible zeal, and ſolicited the Pope, that the examination of this affair might be withdrawn from the Congregation *De propagandâ fide*, and ſubmitted to the holy office or Inquiſition, to whoſe

* Clementis Papæ XII. Revocatio, annullatio, & caſſatio duarum epiſtolarum paſtoralium bon. mem. Franciſci epiſcopi Pekinenſis nuper defuncti circa res Sinenſes editarum.

cognizance by right it belonged. His requeſt was granted. This change of his judges was of great conſequence to him. The Jeſuits had more patrons than friends in the Congregation than in the Inquiſition, where their old adverſaries the Dominicans prevail. As ſoon as he had put his cauſe into the hands he wiſhed to have it in, he left nothing undone to proſecute it with the utmoſt vigour. The account he gives himſelf of his importunate and indefatigable application is ſo natural, that one cannot but admire his integrity; and he ſeems to have effected at leaſt as much by unwearied importunities, as by ſtrength of reaſoning. He was inceſſantly begging, attending, writing, remonſtrating and inſtructing. Even the Pope himſelf was not a day free from his company. He was conſtantly attending the cardinals, the aſſeſſors, and the counſellors of the holy

office.

office. Not a clerk of the court was overlooked in his ſolicitation. Notwithſtanding all this, his progreſs was not equal to his endeavours. The Pope was willing, that, in an affair of this importance, the judges ſhould determine nothing haſtily. He particularly enjoined, as his ſucceſſor informs us, that all the clergy reſiding in *Rome*, who had been in *China*, and all the young *Chineſe*, who were come to *Rome* for inſtruction and education, ſhould be heard, and judicially examined. This required a conſiderable time, and Clement the twelfth did not ſurvive the inquiry.

Benedict the fourteenth, who now fills the chair, was elected in his room. This prelate is ſaid to be leſs favourably inclined to the Jeſuits, than to any other order under his juriſdiction. His conduct hitherto has confirmed this opinion

opinion of him. Poor Caſtorani however ſeems to have found it a difficult matter to bring him over to his ſide. He even ſubjected himſelf to a ſevere penalty, if ever they ſhould convict him of deceit or miſrepreſentation. At length, after ſeven years impatience, the happy day appeared, for which he had been ſo earneſtly labouring. Benedict the fourteenth, in the year 1742, iſſued the famous bull, which begins with the words *Ex quo ſingulari*, &c. It was finiſhed on the eleventh of June, and iſſued out the ninth of Auguſt*. The

* *It was publiſhed at* Rome *from the printing-office of the apoſtolical chamber, under the title,* Confirmatio & innovatio conſtitutionis, incipientis: *Ex illa die*; à Clemente Papa XI. in cauſâ rituum ſeu cæremoniarum Sinenſium editæ, nec non revocatio, reſciſſio, abolitio, caſſatio, annullatio ac *damnatio* permiſſionum ſuper iiſdem ritibus ſeu cæremoniis in quadam paſtorali epiſtola Caroli Ambroſii Mediobarbæ, patriarchæ Alexandrini, olim commiſſarii & viſitatoris apoſtolici in Sinarum imperio contentarum, cum præſcriptione novæ formulæ juramenti per miſſionarios illarum partium præſentes & futuros præſtandi.

only

only thing omitted in this ſevere law, to expoſe and mortify the Jeſuits and their adherents, is the mention of their name. But it is eaſy to apprehend whom his Holineſs points at, when he ſpeaks of a diſobedient, crafty, malicious and inſidious ſet of men. He revokes, annuls, aboliſhes, rejects and totally condemns the indulgences of Mezzabarba, as tenets extorted from the patriarch under the apprehenſion of a violent death, never approved by the holy ſee, and contradictory to the bull of Pope Clement the eleventh, and commands them to be conſidered no otherwiſe, than as if they had never been granted. He denounces his heavy diſpleaſure and all the puniſhments which the church uſually inflicts upon the tranſgreſſors of her laws, againſt the clergy of every rank, and the Jeſuits in particular, if they ſhould preſume to

to depart in the leaſt degree from the conſtitution *Ex illa die*. He enjoins the ſuperiors of every order of monks immediately to expel thoſe members of their ſociety, who ſhould dare to violate his ordinance, and to recal them to *Europe*, that they might be duly puniſhed. In the laſt place he preſcribes an oath, by which all miſſionaries in *China* oblige themſelves ſtrictly to adhere to the bull of Clement the eleventh, and by no means to ſuffer their converts to obſerve any of the ceremonies permitted by Mezzabarba. The concluſion of the bull is with ſome authority ſaid to be penned by the Pope himſelf. The language of it is ſtrong, edifying, pathetic, apoſtolical, and well worthy of a great prelate. "We hope "in God," ſays he, among other things, "that the preachers of the goſpel in "*China* will baniſh from their breaſts

"that

" that groundleſs apprehenſion, that " the converſion of infidels will be " in the leaſt retarded by a ſtrict ob- " ſervation of our decrees. The con- " verſion of heathens depends prin- " cipally upon the grace of God; " and the grace of God will infal- " libly aſſiſt the labours of thoſe mi- " niſters of the goſpel, who preach the " truths of the chriſtian religion bold- " ly, and *in that purity, in which they* " *are delivered to them by the apoſtolical* " *ſee*, being ready to lay down their " lives for the honour of the goſpel, " according to the example of the holy " apoſtles and other eminent martyrs, " whoſe blood, ſo far from retarding " the progreſs of chriſtianity, rather " improved the vineyard, and produ- " ced a plentiful harveſt of believers." Next he puts them in mind of the nature of their call. " Be mindful, as

" you

" you are true disciples of Jesus Christ,
" that he hath not sent you to worldly
" joys, but to a difficult combat; not to
" the possession of honours, but to re-
" proach and contempt; not to an in-
" active, but laborious life; not to in-
" dulge your ease, but to bring forth
" much fruit with patience." In order to understand the meaning of this last admonition, the reader must represent to himself the Court-Jesuits at *Pe-king*, dressed in the sumptuous robes of Mandarines, with a dragon on their breast, and enjoying all the honours, dignities, privileges, revenues and conveniences, which the Emperor's favour or their own services could procure them. To missionaries in these circumstances, so full of the power and wisdom of this world, the exhortation of the Pope seems in the highest degree expedient.

This

This latter part of our memoirs muſt be matter of great admiration to thoſe, who read it attentively. Caſtorani a poor mendicant friar, whom the Jeſuits had cauſed to be fettered with nine chains, engages in a conteſt with the moſt powerful ſociety in the church of *Rome*, with that ſociety, before whom the Pope himſelf and Kings have been made to tremble, and not only gains the victory, but expoſes and humbles them in a manner they had never before experienced. Such is the miſchief the meaneſt and moſt impotent enemy is capable of effecting, when either deſpiſed or too heavily oppreſſed!

We ſeem now to be arrived at the end of the *Chineſe* controverſy, which has laſted upwards of an hundred years. And doubtleſs here it muſt have terminated, had any other order in the church

church of *Rome*, but that of the Jeſuits been the parties concerned. But this ſociety is not ſo eaſily diſheartened by bulls from the biſhops of *Rome*. They have always a fund of inventions in reſerve, whereby to evade or repair all the damage a Pope can inflict. It is currently reported, that they pay no more regard to this bull of Benedict the fourteenth, than to that of Clement the eleventh, and continue to permit their converts to do that which the Pope ſo expreſsly forbids. Another Franciſcan deputy is arrived at *Rome* within the laſt year or two, from *China*, loaded with authentic evidence and teſtimony of the contumacy of the Jeſuits, and of the calamities they bring upon their oppoſers. Perhaps this may produce a third bull againſt them, and the third bull may poſſibly hurt the two former by its vehemence. The *Roman* theatre is

ſubject

ſubject to many changes, and it is a thing not unuſual entirely to drop the beſt laws, in order to ſave the pains and trouble of executing them. Matters ſeem at leaſt to be ripening for a new ſcene in this celebrated drama. The Jeſuits are gradually inſinuating themſelves into the ſtrong and advantageous ſituation they were in at the court of *Pe-king*, in the reign of the Emperor *Cam-hi*. His ſucceſſor *Yong-Tching*, who perſecuted the chriſtian religion, and favoured the Jeſuits merely for his own purpoſes, died in the year 1737. *Kien-Long*, one of his ſons, mounted the throne in his ſtead. He was but twenty-five years of age when the empire fell into his hands, and began his reign with various acts of clemency. The *Bonzees* were the only body of men that experienced his diſpleaſure. He expreſſed his zeal againſt

them in a public writing, in which he cautions his ſubjects againſt their vices and deceits *. He gently revoked the orders iſſued by his father againſt the chriſtians and their teachers, and reſtored the church in *China* in great meaſure to her former proſperity and peace. And as to the Jeſuits, he gave them freſh encouragement, embraced eagerly every opportunity of ſhewing them favour, and did this, to an extraordinary degree, of his own accord without any ſolicitation of theirs. This diſpoſition of his to thoſe cunning and ingenious eccleſiaſtics is ſaid to improve with his years. What will become of their antagoniſts, and of the bull *Ex quo ſingulari*, if they gain as abſolute an aſcendant over the heart of this Mo-

* Lettres edifiantes & curieuſes ecrites des miſſions etrangeres, Tom. XXIII. Preface, Page iv, v, vi.

narch,

narch, as they enjoyed over that of his grandfather?

To this proſperity the Jeſuits received an acceſſion about three years ago, which they had long wiſhed for, and ſolicited in vain at the court of *Rome*. They have made it their endeavour for many years paſt, to get all the biſhopricks in the heathen countries into their own hands, that they might reſerve to themſelves the ſole power over their converts, and have a check upon the other miſſionaries, who are not of their ſociety. Some of the vacant ſees they have been promoted to through the intereſt of the kings of Portugal, who have obtained the power of nominating the biſhops of *Aſia*. The Popes have conſtantly reſiſted their moſt preſſing applications for the biſhopricks in *China*, particularly for that of *Pe-king*.

His preſent Holineſs is doubtleſs of the ſame opinion with his predeceſſors in this reſpect. Notwithſtanding this, in the year 1745, he promoted a Jeſuit to the ſee of *Pe-king* with all its extenſive juriſdiction. This prelate was a *Portugueſe*, named Polycarp de Souza, recommended with the warmeſt importunity by Don Emanuel de Sampajo, the Portugueſe ambaſſador. And the Pope, though he ſeems to fear as well as to hate the ſociety of Jeſuits, yet upon many accounts honours his Portugueſe Majeſty; therefore the ſame Benedict the fourteenth, who had ſo heavily mortified that ſociety by his bull *Ex quo ſingulari*, did what none of his predeceſſors thought it prudent to do, he accepted the recommendation of a Jeſuit. What can be expected in theſe circumſtances? The Jeſuits being at preſent as powerful in the church,

church, as at the court of *Pe-king*, it is eaſy to conjecture the fate of their adverſaries, and of the bull, in which they are ſo effectually expoſed.

The attentive reader will draw many uſeful inferences from the facts here related. How ſick and feeble is the head of the church of *Rome!* How powerful and refractory are the orders, over which ſhe pretends to an abſolute ſway! How little regard is paid to the Pope by that ſociety, which is bound to pay him the greateſt! How much diviſion and diſcord do we obſerve in a church which boaſts of her unity and peace! How miſerably diſtracted is the court of *Rome!* How many arts are invented to elude the ſtrongeſt decrees of the Pope! How frequent is the change of thoſe conſtitutions, which ought to be immutable! How inconve-

nient and defective is the government of that church!——Certainly if our Saviour ſubjected chriſtians in all parts of the earth to the dominion and inſpection of a ſingle biſhop, he has laid a duty upon one man, to which an hundred are not equal, and has choſen one of the moſt imperfect forms of government.

Gottingen, April 6, 1748.

JOHN LAURENCE DE MOSHEIM.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

BY way of supplement to the foregoing account, we shall inform the reader that since the year 1737, *when the Emperor* KIEN-LONG *mounted the throne, and the Jesuits entertained such sanguine hopes, those fathers have given us six successive volumes of letters relating to their missions. From these we shall extract a short account of all that has befallen them in China since that period.*

Tom. XXIII, *published* 1738, *acquainted us with the death of their old enemy the Emperor* YONG-TCHING, *and with the commencement of the new reign, in which the Jesuits hoped to recover their former influence* [*as is mentioned above in p.* 114.] *How far these expectations have been answered we shall learn from the following volumes.*

Tom. XXIV, *published* 1739, *contains*

nothing particular relating to the Chineſe miſſion; but

Tom. XXV, *publiſhed* 1741, *opens with informing us that the hopes the miſſionaries had entertained from the new Emperor were fruſtrated; that in* 1738 *a new perſecution had been raiſed againſt the chriſtians; that the Chineſe were under heavy penalties forbidden to depart from the rites of their anceſtors, and that many of the miſſionaries had been driven from their lurking places in the provinces. We find however, that ſuch of them as were employed in the Emperor's ſervice at Peking, continued unmoleſted, and were even permitted to intercede for their brethren, though their arguments were not able to divert the ſtorm. It ought to be obſerved, that although the Jeſuits would fain have theſe placed to the ſcore of religion, the Chineſe government conſtantly affirmed that it was, not chriſtianity, but the violation of their laws, which they meant to puniſh:*

and

and as they could have no inducement to diſſemble or conceal their real motives, I don't ſee why we ſhould not believe them. If religion itſelf had been the object of their vengeance, no reaſon can be aſſigned why the Chineſe within their own empire ſhould not openly declare it.

Tom. XXVI, *publiſhed* 1743, *informs us of the death of* P. PARRENIN *an ancient Jeſuit miſſionary, and of the vaſt honours done to his memory by the Emperor's order. Now altho' it is apparent enough, and they have acknowledged it themſelves, that this tribute of reſpect was only paid him, as a perſon employed in the Emperor's ſervice, yet the good fathers, who let ſlip no opportunity of making their own private intereſt and that of chriſtianity one common cauſe, don't fail to call the pomp of his interment,* A TRIUMPH FOR RELIGION (vid. pref. p. jx.) *The ſame volume gives us a deſcription of the ſtratagems and artifices the miſſionaries make uſe of to introduce*

troduce themſelves unobſerved into the provinces, and to conceal themſelves there from the notice of the magiſtracy: and concludes with informing us, that beſides three churches they have at Pe-king, there are a great number of miſſions eſtabliſhed all over the ſame province, which are cultivated by five Chineſe prieſts of the Jeſuit order; and that the number of their chriſtian converts amounts to more than 50,000, *which they have reaſon to believe they ſhall in a few years increaſe to* 100,000 *in that ſingle province.*

On account of the death of P. Du Halde, *who for many years had the care of publiſhing the* Lettres edifiantes & curieuſes &c, *the next collection,* viz.

Tom. XXVII *did not appear till* 1749. *Beſides the account of the Chineſe miſſion, which the reader will find at the end of* Frere Attiret's deſcriptions of the Emperor's gardens *in the following pages: this volume contains the hiſtory of a general*

neral perſecution raiſed againſt the chriſtians in the year 1746. *It was at firſt confined to the province of* Fo-kien, *where miſſionaries of the Dominican order were chiefly eſtabliſhed; but afterwards extended itſelf even to the capital. Here indeed it only reached ſome of the Chineſe converts, not in the leaſt affecting the European miſſionaries, who continued to exerciſe their religion without the leaſt interruption: not but two or three Jeſuits were ſtrangled, that had lien concealed in the provinces. The miſſionary, who gives this account, concludes with telling us, that it was expected this ſtorm would ſoon blow over. After an interval of nine years*

Tom. XXVIII *made its appearance in* 1758. *Beſides the preſent ſtate of the Chineſe miſſion given in* P. Amyot's letter, *a tranſlation of which is here publiſhed; from this volume we learn, that although the perſecution had abated, one or two Jeſuits had been detected in the provinces*

and ſtrangled accordingly: that a Portugueſe embaſſador had been received at Peking; who, notwithſtanding all the good offices which he had endeavoured to do the miſſionaries, was not able to perform them any effectual ſervice: and that tho' great favour was occaſionally ſhewn to ſuch of them as were employed in the Emperor's court (he having ordered one of them to be made a Mandarine of the fourth order, which honour however he declined), yet, with all theſe encouragements, they had not the leaſt hopes of procuring any abatement in the rigour of the Chineſe laws, or of obtaining a general toleration of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

THE END OF THE MEMOIRS.

OF THE
ART
OF LAYING OUT
GARDENS
AMONG THE
CHINESE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following is extracted from a very curious folio volume, containing twenty-one fine copper plates and about twenty pages of letter-preſs, intitled,

DESIGNS of *Chineſe* buildings, furniture, dreſſes, machines and utenſils, engraved by the beſt hands from the originals drawn in *China* by Mr. CHAMBERS, architect, member of the imperial academy of arts at *Florence*. To which is annexed a deſcription of their temples, houſes, gardens, &c. London 1757.

OF THE

ART

OF LAYING OUT

GARDENS

AMONG THE

CHINESE.

THE gardens, which I ſaw in *China*, were very ſmall; nevertheleſs, from them, and what could be gathered from Lepqua, a celebrated *Chineſe* painter, with whom I had ſeveral converſations on the ſubject of gardening, I think I have acquired ſufficient knowledge of their notions on this head.

Nature is their pattern, and their aim is to imitate her in all her beautiful irregularities. Their firſt conſideration is the form of the ground, whether it be flat, ſloping, hilly, or mountainous, extenſive, or of ſmall compaſs, of a dry or marſhy nature, abounding with rivers and ſprings, or liable to a ſcarcity of water; to all which circumſtances they attend with great care, chuſing ſuch diſpoſitions as humour the ground, can be executed with the leaſt expence, hide its defects, and ſet its advantages in the moſt conſpicuous light.

As the *Chineſe* are not fond of walking, we ſeldom meet with avenues or ſpacious walks, as in our *European* plantations. The whole ground is laid out in a variety of ſcenes, and you are led, by winding paſſages cut in the groves, to the different points of view, each of

of which is marked by a ſeat, a building, or ſome other object.

The perfection of their gardens conſiſts in the number, beauty, and diverſity of theſe ſcenes. The *Chineſe* gardeners, like the *European* painters, collect from nature the moſt pleaſing objects, which they endeavour to combine in ſuch a manner, as not only to appear to the beſt advantage ſeparately, but likewiſe to unite in forming an elegant and ſtriking Whole.

Their artiſts diſtinguiſh three different ſpecies of ſcenes, to which they give the appellations of pleaſing, horrid, and enchanted. Their enchanted ſcenes anſwer, in a great meaſure, to what we call romantic, and in theſe they make uſe of ſeveral artifices to excite ſurprize. Sometimes they make a rapid ſtream, or torrent, paſs under ground, the tur-

bulent noiſe of which ſtrikes the ear of the new comer, who is at a loſs to know from whence it proceeds. At other times they diſpoſe the rocks, buildings, and other objects that form the compoſition in ſuch a manner, as that the wind paſſing through the different interſtices and cavities, made in them for that purpoſe, cauſes ſtrange and uncommon ſounds. They introduce into theſe ſcenes all kinds of extraordinary trees, plants and flowers, form artificial and complicated echoes, and let looſe different ſorts of monſtrous birds and animals.

In their ſcenes of horror, they introduce impending rocks, dark caverns, and impetuous cataracts ruſhing down the mountains from all ſides; the trees are ill-formed, and ſeemingly torn to pieces by the violence of tempeſts; ſome are thrown down, and intercept the courſe

courſe of the torrents, appearing as if they had been brought down by the fury of the waters; others look as if ſhattered and blaſted by the force of lightening: the buildings are ſome in ruins, others half-conſumed by fire, and ſome miſerable huts diſperſed in the mountains ſerve, at once, to indicate the exiſtence and wretchedneſs of the inhabitants. Theſe ſcenes are generally ſucceeded by pleaſing ones. The *Chineſe* artiſts, knowing how powerfully contraſt operates on the mind, conſtantly practiſe ſudden tranſitions, and a ſtriking oppoſition of forms, colours, and ſhades. Thus they conduct you from limited proſpects to extenſive views; from objects of horror to ſcenes of delight; from lakes and rivers, to plains, hills, and woods; to dark and gloomy colours they oppoſe ſuch as are brilliant, and to complicated forms ſimple ones; diſtributing by a judicious arrangement,

the different maſſes of light and ſhade, in ſuch a manner as to render the compoſition at once diſtinct in its parts, and ſtriking in the whole.

Where the ground is extenſive, and a multiplicity of ſcenes are to be introduced, they generally adapt each to one ſingle point of view; but where it is limited, and affords no room for variety, they endeavour to remedy this defect, by diſpoſing the objects ſo, that being viewed from different points, they produce different repreſentations; and ſometimes by an artful diſpoſition, ſuch as have no reſemblance to each other.

In their large gardens they contrive different ſcenes for morning, noon and evening; erecting, at the proper points of view, buildings adapted to the recreations of each particular time of the day: and in their ſmall ones (where, as

has

has been obſerved, one arrangement produces many repreſentations) they diſpoſe in the ſame manner, at the ſeveral points of view, buildings, which, from their uſe point out the time of day for enjoying the ſcene in its perfection.

As the climate of *China* is exceeding hot, they employ a great deal of water in their gardens. In the ſmall ones, if the ſituation admits, they frequently lay almoſt the whole ground under water; leaving only ſome iſlands and rocks: and in their large ones they introduce extenſive lakes, rivers, and canals. The banks of their lakes and rivers are variegated in imitation of nature; being ſometimes bare and gravelly, ſometimes adorned with woods quite to the water's edge. In ſome places flat, and covered with flowers and ſhrubs, in others ſteep, rocky, and

forming caverns, into which part of the waters diſcharge themſelves with noiſe and violence. Sometimes you ſee meadows covered with cattle, or rice-grounds that run out into the lakes, leaving between them paſſages for veſſels; and ſometimes groves, into which enter, in different parts, creeks, and rivulets, ſufficiently deep to admit boats; their banks being planted with trees, whoſe ſpreading branches in ſome places form arbours, under which the boats paſs. Theſe generally conduct to ſome very intereſting object; ſuch as a magnificent building; places on the top of a mountain cut into terraſſes; a caſine ſituated in the midſt of a lake; a caſcade; a grotto cut into a variety of apartments; an artificial rock; and many other ſuch inventions.

Their rivers are ſeldom ſtraight, but ſerpentine, and broken into many irregular

regular points; ſometimes they are narrow, noiſy, and rapid; at other times, deep, broad, and ſlow. Both in their rivers and lakes are ſeen reeds, with other aquatic plants and flowers; particularly the *Lyen-hoa*, of which they are very fond. They frequently erect mills, and other hydraulic machines, the motions of which enliven the ſcene. They have alſo a great number of veſſels of different forms and ſizes. In their lakes they interſperſe iſlands; ſome of them barren, and ſurrounded with rocks and ſhoals; others enriched with every thing that art and nature can furniſh moſt perfect. They likewiſe form artificial rocks; and in compoſitions of this kind the *Chineſe* ſurpaſs all other nations. The making them is a diſtinct profeſſion: and there are at *Canton*, and probably in moſt other cities of *China*, numbers of artificers conſtantly employed in this buſineſs. The ſtone they are

made

made of comes from the ſouthern coaſts of *China:* it is of a blueiſh caſt, and worn into irregular forms by the action of the waves. The *Chineſe* are exceeding nice in the choice of this ſtone, inſomuch that I have ſeen ſeveral tael given for a bit no bigger than a man's fiſt, when it happened to be of a beautiful form and lively colour. But theſe ſelect pieces they uſe in landſcapes for their apartments; in gardens they employ a coarſer ſort, which they join with a blueiſh cement, and form rocks of a conſiderable ſize. I have ſeen ſome of theſe exquiſitely fine, and ſuch as diſcovered an uncommon elegance of taſte in the contriver. When they are large they make in them caves and grottos, with openings, through which you diſcover diſtant proſpects. They cover them in different places with trees, ſhrubs, briars, and moſs; placing on their tops little temples, or other buildings,

ings, to which you aſcend by rugged and irregular ſteps cut in the rock.

When there is a ſufficient ſupply of water, and proper ground, the *Chineſe* never fail to form caſcades in their gardens. They avoid all regularity in theſe works, obſerving nature according to her operations in that mountainous country. The waters burſt out from among the caverns and windings of the rocks. In ſome places a large and impetuous cataract appears; in others are ſeen many leſſer falls. Sometimes the view of the caſcade is intercepted by trees, whoſe leaves and branches only leave room to diſcover the waters, in ſome places, as they fall down the ſide of the mountain. They frequently throw rough wooden bridges from one rock to another, over the ſteepeſt part of the cataract; and often intercept its paſſage by trees and heaps

of

of ſtones, that ſeem to have been brought down by the violence of the torrent.

In their plantations they vary the forms and colours of their trees; mixing ſuch as have large and ſpreading branches with thoſe of pyramidal figures, and dark greens with brighter, interſperſing among them ſuch as produce flowers, of which they have ſome that flouriſh a great part of the year. The weeping willow is one of their favourite trees, and always among thoſe that border their lakes and rivers, being ſo planted as to have its branches hanging over the water. They likewiſe introduce trunks of decayed trees, ſometimes erect, and at other times lying on the ground, being very nice about their forms, and the colour of the bark and moſs on them.

Various are the artifices they employ to ſurprize. Sometimes they lead you through

through caverns and gloomy paſſages, at the iſſue of which you are, on a ſudden, ſtruck with the view of a delicious landſcape, enriched with every thing that luxuriant nature affords moſt beautiful. At other times you are conducted through avenues and walks, that gradually diminiſh and grow rugged, till the paſſage is at length entirely intercepted, and rendered impracticable, by buſhes, briars, and ſtones; when unexpectedly a rich and extenſive proſpect opens to view, ſo much the more pleaſing, as it was leſs looked for.

Another of their artifices is to hide ſome part of a compoſition by trees, or other intermediate objects. This naturally excites the curioſity of the ſpectator to take a nearer view; when he is ſurprized by ſome unexpected ſcene, or ſome repreſentation totally oppoſite to the thing he looked for. The termination of their lakes they always

ways hide, leaving room for the imagination to work; and the ſame rule they obſerve in other compoſitions, wherever it can be put in practice.

Though the *Chineſe* are not well verſed in optics, yet experience has taught them that objects appear leſs in ſize, and grow dim in colour, in proportion as they are more removed from the eye of the ſpectator. Theſe diſcoveries have given riſe to an artifice, which they ſometimes put in practice. It is the forming proſpects in perſpective, by introducing buildings, veſſels, and other objects, leſſened according as they are more diſtant from the point of view; and that the deception may be ſtill more ſtriking, they give a greyiſh tinge to the diſtant parts of the compoſition, and plant in the remoter parts of theſe ſcenes trees of a fainter colour, and ſmaller growth, than thoſe that appear in the front, or fore-ground; by theſe means rendering

what

what in reality is trifling and limited, great and conſiderable in appearance.

The *Chineſe* generally avoid ſtraight lines; yet they do not abſolutely reject them. They ſometimes make avenues, when they have any intereſting object to expoſe to view. Roads they always make ſtraight, unleſs the unevenneſs of the ground, or other impediments, afford at leaſt a pretext for doing otherwiſe. Where the ground is entirely level, they look upon it as an abſurdity to make a ſerpentine road; for they ſay, that it muſt either be made by art, or worn by the conſtant paſſage of travellers: in either of which caſes it is not natural to ſuppoſe men would chuſe a crooked line, when they might go by a ſtraight one.

What we call clumps, the *Chineſe* gardeners are not unacquainted with; but they uſe them ſomewhat more ſparingly than

than we do. They never fill a whole piece of ground with clumps; they conſider a plantation as painters do a picture, and groupe their trees in the ſame manner as theſe do their figures, having their principal and ſubſervient maſſes.

This is the ſubſtance of what I learnt during my ſtay in *China*, partly from my own obſervation, but chiefly from the leſſons of Lepqua. And from what has been ſaid it may be inferred, that the art of laying out grounds after the *Chineſe* manner is exceedingly difficult, and not to be attained by perſons of narrow intellects: for tho' the precepts are ſimple and obvious, yet the putting them in execution requires genius, judgment, and experience, a ſtrong imagination, and a thorough knowledge of the human mind: this method being fixed to no certain rule, but liable to as many variations as there are different arrangements in the works of the creation.

A DE-

A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

EMPEROR of CHINA's

GARDENS and PLEASURE-HOUSES

Near PE-KING.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE French original from which the following piece is tranſlated may be found in the 27th Recueil *of* LETTRES edifiantes & curieuſes &c. *Paris* 1749. 12mo.

A great part of this tranſlation was finiſhed before the editor was apprized that a former one had been publiſhed in 1752 *under the name of* Sir Harry Beaumont. *Whatever advantages that verſion may have over this, it may be neceſſary to mention that the laſt twenty pages of the original are omitted in it, and ſome other paſſages elſewhere: which, tho' they only relate to the affairs of the miſſion, were judged too curious to be wholly ſuppreſſed, as the Reader will be apt to inquire upon what footing the Jeſuits remain at preſent in China.*

A DESCRIPTION OF THE EMPEROR of CHINA's GARDENS and PLEASURE-HOUSES Near PE-KING.

In a Letter from *Frere Attiret*, of the Society of Jeſus, Painter to the Emperor of *China*, to *Monſieur d' Aſſaut*.

Pe-king, November 1. 1743.

Sir,

I Received with the greateſt pleaſure your two letters: the firſt dated October the thirteenth; the other November the ſecond, 1742. Our miſſionaries, to whom I communicated the intereſting account you give us of the

principal events in *Europe*, join with me in ſincere acknowledgments for the ſame. I muſt alſo return you thanks for the box you ſent me, filled with works in ſtraw, grains, and flowers: but beg you will not put yourſelf to ſuch expence any more. The *Chineſe* far excel *Europeans* in works of this kind, and eſpecially in artifical flowers.

I muſt now complain of you; you think, ſir, my letters not frequent enough: but, if I can truſt my memory, I have writ to you every year ſince my departure from *Macao*. It is not then my fault, if you have not annually heard from me. In ſo long a paſſage is it ſurprizing that letters ſhould miſcarry? From this place to *Canton*, where *European* veſſels come, the diſtance is above ſeven hundred leagues, and it happens more than once every year that letters are loſt. The poſt in *China* only be-

longs

longs to the Emperor and the great officers: the public has no right to employ it. Not but the poſt-boy ſecretly and for a premium, will take charge of private letters: but the carriage muſt be paid before-hand, and if he finds himſelf over-loaded, he will burn them or throw them away, without any danger of being called to account for it.

In the next place, you think my letters too ſhort, and would not have me refer you, as I do, to the books, which treat of *Chineſe* manners and cuſtoms. But is it in my power to give you better or more exact accounts than you have already? I am but lately arrived; and it is with difficulty I ſtammer out a few *Chineſe* words. If it only related to painting, I flatter myſelf I could talk a little to the purpoſe: but if, out of complaiſance to you, I ſhould hazard an

anſwer to all your queſtions, ſhould not I run a riſque of miſinforming you? I ſee notwithſtanding that you will be obeyed at all events. I ſhall reſiſt no longer, but following the order of your queſtions, as contained in your two laſt letters, ſhall anſwer them as well as I can, with my accuſtomed frankneſs and ſimplicity.

I ſhall, in the firſt place, mention my journey from *Macao* to *Pe-king*, for that is the ſubject of your firſt queſtion. We came hither by the Emperor's order, or rather by his permiſſion. An officer was aſſigned to conduct us; we were made to believe that our expences would have been defrayed us; but we found this nothing but words;- we in a good meaſure came at our own expence. Half the journey was performed in barks. It is the cuſtom to eat and ſleep in theſe; and, what is very ſingu-

lar,

lar, people of the better rank dare not go aſhore, nor place themſelves at the windows of their bark, to ſee the country through which they paſs, for fear of violating the rules of decorum. The reſt of the way we were carried in a kind of a cage, which they would have paſs for a litter. In this one is incloſed during the whole day; in the evening the litter enters an inn, ſuch as it is; ſo that we arrived at *Pe-king* without having ſeen any thing at all, and our curioſity was no more ſatisfied, than if we had all the while been ſhut up in a chamber.

Beſides this, the whole face of the country, which lies upon this road, is but very indifferent, and although it is a journey of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues, nothing occurs worthy attention: one ſees neither monuments nor edifices,

except

except a few *Miao* or idol-temples, which are wooden buildings one ſtory high, whoſe value and beauty only conſiſt in ſome bad paintings and very coarſe varniſh. In truth, whoever hath ſeen the monuments and edifices in *France* and *Italy*, can only regard with indifference and contempt every thing that is to be ſeen elſewhere.

I muſt nevertheleſs except from this cenſure the Emperor's palace at *Peking* and his houſes of pleaſure: for in theſe every thing is grand and truly fine, as well with regard to the deſign, as execution: and I am ſo much the more ſtruck with theſe, as nothing like any part of them hath ever before offered itſelf to my eyes.

I would willingly attempt ſuch a deſcription as might give you a juſt no-

tion

tion of theſe ſtructures: but the undertaking would be too difficult, becauſe they contain nothing that bears the leaſt reſemblance to our manner of building, or that has any relation to our architecture. Nothing but the eye can convey a true idea of them; and therefore, if I have time, I will not fail to ſend to *Europe* a draught of ſome parts of them as well executed as I can.

The palace, which is as large as the city of *Dijon* *, conſiſts in general of many ranges of building detached from each other, diſpoſed in beautiful ſymmetry, and ſeparated by vaſt courts, by gardens and parterres. The front of all theſe buildings ſhines with gilding, varniſh and paint. The inſide is furniſhed and ſet off with

* The capital of *Burgundy* in *France*, ſomewhat more than three miles in circumference.

every

every thing that is moſt beautiful and precious in *China*, the *Indies* and in *Europe*.

With regard to the houſes of pleaſure, they are indeed charming. They are diſtributed over a large tract of ground, in which have been raiſed by art many little mountains, from twenty to fifty and ſixty feet high; theſe form a prodigious number of little valleys. The bottoms of theſe valleys are watered by canals of clear water, which unite together in many places to form lakes and meres. One ſails upon theſe canals, theſe meres and lakes, in beautiful and magnificent barks. I have ſeen one of theſe which was twenty-ſix yards in length and eight in breadth, upon which was a ſuperb building. In each of the valleys, upon the banks of the waters, are edifices of many ranges of building, compleatly ſet off with courts, open

and

and private galleries, gardens, parterres, caſcades, and which when ſeen all together have an admirable appearance.

The paſſage out of theſe valleys is not by fine alleys or walks in right lines as in *Europe*, but zig-zag and winding, adorned on each ſide with little pavilions and grottos, and leading to ſome ſecond valley quite different from the former, as well in the diſpoſition of the ground, as in the manner of the buildings.

All the mountains and little hills are covered with trees, eſpecially with thoſe kinds that produce beautiful flowers, which are here [in *China*] very common. It is indeed a terreſtrial paradiſe. The canals are not, as with us, edged with hewn ſtone, and in a ſtraight line: but all ruſtic with pieces of rock, of which ſome ſtand forward, others retire,

retire, and which are diſpoſed with ſo much art, that one would ſay it was all the work of nature. One while the canal is wide, another while narrow: here it is ſerpentine, there it elbows out; as if it were really forced into that direction by the little hills and rocks. The borders are ſprinkled with flowers, which ſpring forth from amid the ſtones, and which appear to be the ſpontaneous gift of nature: of theſe are different ſorts adapted to the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year.

Along the ſides of the canals, are every where paths paved with little flints, which lead from one valley to another. Theſe paths wind alſo in a ſerpentine direction; one while verging upon the borders of the ſtreams, another while withdrawing from them.

As ſoon as you enter one of the valleys,

leys, its buildings preſent themſelves to the eye. All the front is crowded with columns and windows: the timber-work is gilt, painted and varniſhed: the walls are of grey bricks nicely cut and poliſhed: the roofs are covered with varniſhed tiles, red, yellow, blue, green and violet, which by their mixture and arrangement make an agreeable variety of compartments and deſigns. The buildings are almoſt all but one ſtory high, and are elevated two, four, ſix or eight feet from the ground. Some of them have a ſecond ſtory. The aſcent to them is not by ſteps of ſtone poliſhed by art: but by pieces of rock, made to appear, as if they were ſteps formed by nature. They reſemble nothing ſo much as thoſe fabulous palaces of the fairies, which are ſuppoſed to be ſeated in the midſt of a deſert, on ſome craggy rock, whoſe aſcent is rugged and goes winding up by degrees.

The apartments within anſwer perfectly to the magnificence of the outſide. Beſides that they are extremely well diſtributed; the moveables and ornaments are of an exquiſite taſte and of immenſe value. In the courts and paſſages are ſeen vaſes of marble porcelain and braſs, filled with flowers. Before ſome of theſe houſes, inſtead of immodeſt ſtatues, are placed upon marble pedeſtals the figures of ſymbolical animals in bronze or copper, as alſo urns for burning perfumes.

Every valley, as I have already ſaid, hath its houſe of pleaſure: ſmall, with regard to the whole incloſure; but yet in itſelf conſiderable enough to lodge one of our greateſt lords in *Europe*, with all his retinue. Many of theſe houſes are built of cedar, brought with great expence at the diſtance of 500 leagues from this place. But how many of

theſe palaces would you ſuppoſe there are in the ſeveral valleys of this vaſt incloſure? There are more than two hundred; without reckoning as many other houſes for the eunuchs; for they are the perſons, who have charge of each palace; and their lodgings are always on one ſide at ſome ſmall diſtance. Theſe are plain and ordinary enough, and for that reaſon are always concealed by the end of ſome wall, by ſome little hill, or the like.

The canals are croſſed by bridges at proper diſtances, to render the communication between one place and another eaſy. Theſe bridges are commonly of brick or hewn ſtone: but are ſome of them of wood, and all ſufficiently elevated to leave free paſſage under for the barks.

They are guarded with baluſtrades of white marble curiouſly wrought and

ſculptured in bas-relief: but are all of different conſtruction from each other. You are not to imagine that theſe bridges run in right lines: far from it; they are made ſo winding and ſerpentine, that a bridge, which if it were extended in a ſtraight direction would not exceed thirty or forty feet; by its contours and turnings ſhall be found to reach above two hundred. There are ſome, which either in the middle, or at the end, have little pavilions by way of reſting-places, ſupported by four, eight, or ſixteen columns. Theſe pavilions are generally erected on ſuch bridges, as ſtand in the moſt advantageous points of view. Others have at the two ends triumphal arches of wood or white marble, of moſt beautiful ſtructure, but extremely unlike any thing we are accuſtomed to ſee in *Europe*.

I have ſaid above, that the canals

and

and rivers diſcharge their ſtreams into lakes and meres. There is one of theſe lakes, that is near half a league diameter every way, to which they have given the name of Sea. It forms one of the moſt beautiful ſcenes in the whole incloſure. Around this piece of water, are ſeen upon the banks, at eaſy diſtances, great ranges of building, ſeparated from one another by the canals, and by thoſe artificial mountains, which have been deſcribed above.

But what is really the * jewel of the whole, is an iſland or rock, which riſes out of the middle of this lake in a rugged and wild manner, about two yards above the ſurface of the water. Upon this rock is built a little palace; which yet contains more than a hundred apartments. It hath four fronts, and for beauty and taſte, exceeds all

* *Bijou.*

deſcription. The proſpect is admirable. From hence one ſees all the palaces, which are placed in the intervals round the edges of this water; all the mountains, which there terminate; all the canals, which there either receive or diſcharge their ſtreams; all the bridges, which are at the extremities, or mouths of theſe canals; all the pavilions or triumphal arches which adorn theſe bridges; all the * little woods or clumps, which ſeparate or cover all the palaces, in order to prevent thoſe which are ſituate on the ſame ſide from being ſeen from each other.

The borders of this charming lake are infinitely varied. No one ſpot reſembles another: here are quays of hewn ſtone, on which are galleries, walks and paths. There are quays of

* Thickets. *(Boſques.)*

rude

rude pebbles, formed into a kind of ſteps with all imaginable art; or elſe beautiful terraſſes, having on each ſide a ſtep to mount to the buildings, which they ſupport; and beyond theſe terraſſes, are erected others, with new ranges of buildings in the form of amphitheatres. In another place preſents itſelf a wood of ſuch trees, as bear flowers: a little farther you find a thicket of wild trees, ſuch as only grow on the moſt deſert mountains. Here are trees of the moſt lofty and towering kinds, and thoſe uſed in building. There are foreign trees, trees in bloſſom, and fruit trees.

One finds alſo upon the banks of this lake, a great number of cages and pavilions, half in the water and half on land, for all ſorts of waterfowls; as upon land one meets from

time to time with little menageries and parks for game. Above all there is held in the higheſt eſteem a kind of golden fiſh: being covered almoſt all over with a colour ſhining like gold; not but there are found a great number of ſilver, blue, red, green, violet, black and ſpeckled ones: and even of all theſe colours mixed together. There are many reſervoirs all over the garden, but this is the moſt conſiderable: a great part of it is ſurrounded with a very fine grate of braſs wire to prevent theſe fiſh from ſpreading themſelves promiſcuouſly all over the water.

To make you more ſenſible of the entire beauty of this ſingle ſpot, I wiſh I could tranſport you there, when the lake is covered with the barks finely gilt and varniſhed, rowing either for pleaſure or exerciſe, or for the purpoſe

of

of fiſhing, or for mock-encounters, tilting and other ſports; but above all in a fine night, when they play off fire-works, and when all the palaces, all the barks, and almoſt all the trees are illuminated. For in illuminations and fire-works the *Chineſe* leave us far behind them; and the little I have ſeen infinitely ſurpaſſes whatever I have beheld of this kind in *Italy* and *France*.

The place where the Emperor commonly reſides, and where his women reſide alſo, as well the Empreſs, as * the inferior wives and concubines, together with the women of the bed-chamber and the eunuchs, is a vaſt

* In the *French* original all their ſeveral titles are ſet down, The *Kou-cy-Fey*, the *Fey*, the *Pins*, the *Cou-ci-gin*, the *Chang-tſai:* and there is a note annexed to inform us that theſe are different titles of the Emperor's women, more or leſs grand, according as they are more or leſs in favour. The name of the Empreſs is *Hoang-héou*; that of the Empreſs-mother is *Tay-héou*.

aſſemblage of buildings, courts and gardens, &c. In a word it is a city, at leaſt as large as our little city of *Dole* †. The other palaces are only uſed for walking, or to dine and ſup in.

This place of the Emperor's ordinary reſidence is immediately behind the outward gates, the firſt halls, the halls of audience, the courts and the gardens thereunto belonging. It forms an iſland, being ſurrounded on all ſides by a wide and deep canal. It may be called a ſeraglio. It is in the apartments of this building, that you may ſee every thing that can be conceived moſt beautiful as to moveables, ornaments, paintings, (I mean in the *Chineſe* taſte) precious woods, Japaneſe and *Chineſe* varniſh, antique vaſes of porcelain, ſilks, and cloth of gold and ſilver. They have here

† The capital of the *Franche-Compté* in *France*.

brought together every thing, which art and good taſte can add to the riches of nature.

From this part of the palace there is a path leads almoſt ſtraight along to a little city built in the very center of the whole incloſure. Its extent is a quarter of a league every way. It hath four gates facing the four cardinal points, with towers, walls, parapets and battlements. This city hath ſtreets, ſquares, temples, halls, markets, ſhops, tribunals, palaces, and a port or harbour. In ſhort, every thing which is to be found in large in the capital of the empire may be found here in miniature.

You will naturally aſk, for what uſe was this city deſigned, where every thing is ſo contracted? Is it for a place of ſafety, whither the Emperor may retire,

tire, in caſe of any misfortune, as in a revolt or revolution? It may be applied to this uſe, and the perſon that built it may have had this view in erecting it. But the principal deſign of it was, to give the Emperor the pleaſure of ſeeing in miniature, as oft as he pleaſes, all the hurry and buſtle of a great city.

An Emperor of *China* is too much a ſlave to his grandeur to ſhew himſelf to his people when he goes abroad. He ſees nothing of them himſelf. The houſes and ſhops are all ſhut up. Pieces of cloth are every where hung up to prevent his being ſeen. Many hours before he ſets out, no one is ſuffered to appear on the road, and this under pain of being ſeverely treated by the guards. When he marches out of the city, into the country, two bodies of horſe advance at a conſiderable diſtance on each

ſide

ſide the road, as well to clear it of all paſſengers, as for the ſecurity of the prince's perſon. Obliged thus to live in a kind of ſolitude, the Emperors of *China* have always endeavoured to make themſelves amends, and to ſupply by one means or other, the want of thoſe public diverſions, which their grandeur prevents them from enjoying.

This city then, under the reign of the preſent Emperor, as well as under that of his father, who cauſed it to be built, has been ſet apart in order for the eunuchs to repreſent, as they do ſeveral times in the year, all the trafic, all the marketings, all the arts, trades, tumults, all the going, and coming, and even all the rogueries of great cities. Upon certain days appointed for that purpoſe, every eunuch takes the habit of the rank and profeſſion aſſigned him. One is a merchant,

chant, another an artiſan; this is a ſoldier, that is an officer. One is ſet to roll a wheelbarrow, another to carry a baſket upon his ſhoulders; in ſhort every one hath the diſtinct badge of his profeſſion. The veſſels arrive at the port; the ſhops are opened; the merchandizes are expoſed to ſale: one quarter is for ſilk, another for cloth; one ſtreet is for porcelain, another for works of varniſh. Every thing is properly diſtributed. This man deals in houſhold furniture: that in cloaths, and ornaments for ladies: a third in books for the curious and learned. There are taverns for tea; others for wine: and public houſes for people of all ranks. There are people who hawk about the ſtreets fruits and refreſhments of all ſorts. The mercers catch you by the ſleeve, and preſs you to buy ſome of their ware. All freedoms are allowed. The Emperor is hardly to be

diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed from the loweſt of his ſubjects. Every one gives notice what he has to ſell: they quarrel and fight: there is all the real tumult and diſturbance of a fair. The officers come and ſeize the quarrellers: who are carried before the judges in their tribunals. Theſe examine and paſs ſentence: the offenders are condemned to undergo the baſtonado: it is put in execution; and ſometimes to pleaſe the Emperor the jeſt is turned into earneſt.

There is no want of ſharpers and pickpockets upon theſe occaſions. This noble employment is committed to a good number of the moſt dexterous eunuchs, who acquit themſelves to admiration. If they are caught in the fact, they are brought to ſhame and puniſhed: or at leaſt they are condemned in outward appearance, either to be branded, or baſtonadoed, or baniſhed,

niſhed, according to the heinouſneſs of the offence and nature of the theft. If they are dexterous at their buſineſs, they have the laugh on their ſide; they are applauded, and the poor merchant can have no redreſs. Every thing however is reſtored, when the fair is over.

This fair, as I ſaid above, is only kept for the entertainment of the Emperor, the Empreſs, and his other ladies. It is very rare that any of the princes or grandees are admitted to be preſent at it, and if they are admitted, it is only when the women are withdrawn. The goods, which are expoſed to ſale upon this occaſion, are, for the moſt part, the property of the merchants at *Pe king*, who get the eunuchs to ſell them for them: thus their trafic is not altogether feigned and in jeſt. The Emperor always lays out a good deal of money upon this occaſion, and there

is

is no doubt but they take care to ſell to him as dear as they can. The court ladies on their part buy a great many things, and the eunuchs the ſame. All this trafic, if there were not ſomething real in it, would have nothing to intereſt them, without which their ſquabbles would want life and ſpirit, and not give half the pleaſure.

To commerce ſometimes ſucceeds huſbandry: there is in the ſame incloſure a quarter appropriated to that uſe. There are to be ſeen fields, meadows, farm-houſes, and the cottages of labourers: there you may meet with every thing proper for agriculture; oxen, ploughs, and other implements of huſbandry: there they ſow corn, rice, pulſe, and all ſorts of grain. They mow: and gather the fruits of their labour. In ſhort, whatever is done in the country is practiſed there, and in every thing they imitate,

imitate, as nearly as poſſible, the rural ſimplicity and plain manners of a country life.

You have doubtleſs read that there is a famous feſtival obſerved in *China* called *The feaſt of lanthorns:* it is annually celebrated on the fifteenth day of the *firſt moon.* There is no *Chineſe* ſo poor and miſerable, but what lights up his lanthorn on this day. Theſe are made and ſold of all figures, ſizes, and prices. On this day all *China* is illuminated; but no part of the illumination is ſo fine, as in the quarter belonging to the Emperor, and eſpecially in the houſe, which I have deſcribed above. There is not a chamber, hall, or gallery, but what exhibits many lanthorns hanging from the ceiling. All the canals and baſons are illuminated with them, where they float upon the water in the manner of little barks.

All

All the mountains, bridges, and almoſt all the trees, are ſet off with them. They are of the moſt fine and delicate workmanſhip; in the ſhapes of fiſhes, birds, beaſts, vaſes, fruits, flowers and barks, of all ſizes: they are made of ſilk, horn, glaſs, mother-of-pearl, and many other kinds of materials. There are ſome of them painted, others embroidered, and of all prices. I have ſeen lanthorns, which could not have been made for a thouſand crowns. I ſhould never have done, if I were to deſcribe to you all their forms, materials and ornaments. It is in theſe and in the great variety of their building, that I admire the fertility of their genius; in compariſon of which, I am almoſt tempted to look upon our own, as poor and barren.

Indeed their eyes are ſo accuſtomed to their own architecture, that they have

no reliſh for our manner of building: Would you know what they ſay of it, when we deſcribe it to them, or when we ſhew them prints of our palaces? They are frighted at the vaſt and lofty fronts of our edifices; they look upon our ſtreets as hollow-ways through hideous mountains; and our houſes, as rocks whoſe ſummits are out of ſight, and whoſe bottoms are pierced through with dens, like the habitations of bears and other ſavage beaſts. Our different ſtories, raiſed one upon another, appear to them intolerable; they cannot conceive how we can like to riſk the breaking our necks a hundred times a day, in mounting a ſtair-caſe up to the fourth or fifth ſtory. "Certainly, ſaid the Emperor *Cang-hi*, upon the ſight of ſome plans of *European* houſes, "this "*Europe* muſt be a very ſmall and "wretched country, ſince there is not "room enough on the ground to ex-

"tend

" tend their cities, and the people are " obliged to take up their lodging in " the air." For our parts, we think differently and with reaſon.

Nevertheleſs I will confeſs to you, without pretending to decide which ought to have the preference, that the manner of building in this country pleaſes me much. Since I have been in *China*, my eyes and taſte are become in ſome degree *Chineſe*. Every country hath its peculiar taſte and cuſtoms. The beauty of our architecture cannot be diſputed: nothing can be ſo grand and majeſtic. It muſt be allowed that our houſes are convenient. We require a uniformity and ſymmetry in every part of our buildings: that nothing be unmatched or diſplaced: that one piece exactly anſwer that which faces or is oppoſite to it: nor are they in *China*

altogether averſe to the ſame ſymmetry, order and arrangement. The palace at *Pe-king*, (of which I have ſpoken at the beginning of this letter) is in this taſte. The palaces of the princes of the blood, and of the great lords, the tribunals, and the houſes of the more wealthy private inhabitants, follow the ſame rule.

But in the houſes of pleaſure, they chuſe there ſhould appear only a beautiful diſorder. All turns upon this principle: "It is a rural landſcape, (they "ſay) a face of nature, that we would "repreſent, a ſolitude, and not a palace "laid out in all the rules of ſymmetry "and proportion." Conformably to this, I have never ſeen any two of theſe little palaces, though placed at a great diſtance from each other in the incloſure of the Emperor's pleaſure-ground,

that

that have any reſemblance. One would be apt to ſay, that each of them is made according to the ideas and model of ſome foreign country; that the whole was thrown together at random, and that one part was not made for another. When you hear this deſcribed, you will imagine all this to be ridiculous, and that it muſt make a diſagreeable appearance. But were you to ſee it, you would alter your opinion, and admire the art with which this irregularity is conducted. The whole is in good taſte and ſo well diſpoſed, that all the beauty of it is not to be perceived at firſt ſight. You muſt examine every piece by itſelf, and then you would find enough to amuſe you for a long time, and fully ſatisfy your curioſity.

After all, theſe palaces (tho' I call them little) are not trifling inconſiderable things. I ſaw them build one laſt

year in the ſame incloſure, which coſt one of the princes of the blood, a couſin-german of the Emperor's, ſixty *wanes** [near two hundred thouſand pounds:] without ſpeaking of the ornaments and furniture withinſide, which were not bought at his expence.

I ſhall add one word more concerning the admirable variety, which reigns in theſe houſes of pleaſure. This variety is ſeen not only in the ſituation, appearance, arrangement, diſtribution, ſize, elevation, and number of parts of of each of theſe buildings conſidered as a whole, but alſo in the leſſer parts of which each of theſe particulars is compoſed. If I had not come here, I

* A *wane* is equal to 10,000 *taels*: the *tael* is worth ſeven *livres* ten *ſols* French money; thus ſixty *wanes* make four millions and a half of *livres*. [N. B. A *tael* is by our merchants valued at 6s. 8d. ſo that ſixty *wanes*, according to our computation, amount to 199,100l. ſterling.

ſhould

ſhould never have ſeen ſo many different forms of doors and windows: you have them round, oval, ſquare, and polygons of all kinds; as alſo in the ſhapes of fans, flowers, vaſes, birds, beaſts, and fiſhes: in ſhort of all figures both regular and irregular.

I believe it is only in this country that one ſees ſuch galleries (or porticos) as I am going to deſcribe to you. They ſerve to join together ſuch different ranges of building, as are at a conſiderable diſtance from each other. Theſe are ſometimes raiſed in the manner of pilaſters on the ſide towards the houſe, but are pierced through with windows of different ſhapes on the other ſide: ſometimes both ſides are in the form of pilaſters; ſuch are all thoſe which go from any of the palaces to one of thoſe open pavilions, which are built for the convenience of taking the air.

What is remarkable is, that theſe galleries never go in a ſtraight line. They make a hundred windings, one while behind a grove, another while behind a rock, again another while round a little baſon or piece of water. Nothing can be more agreeable. The whole hath a rural air, which inchants and raviſhes the beholder.

You will certainly conclude, from what I have ſaid, that this houſe of pleaſure muſt have coſt immenſe ſums; in effect no prince in the world, unleſs he were maſter of ſo vaſt an empire as this of *China*, could either afford to be at ſuch an expence, or execute ſuch prodigious undertakings in ſo ſhort a time. For this palace was a work of twenty years only. It was the Emperor's father, who began it, and the preſent Monarch only now and then enlarges and embelliſhes it.

But

But there is nothing in this that ought to ſurprize you or appear incredible. For, beſides that the buildings are almoſt all but of one ſtory high; they ſend what numbers of workmen they pleaſe. The buſineſs is as good as done when once the materials are brought to the place. They immediately fall to diſpoſing them in order, and after a few months labour, the work is finiſhed. One can compare them to nothing, but thoſe fabulous palaces, which are formed of a ſudden by inchantment in ſome beautiful valley, or on the brow of ſome mountain.

To proceed, this houſe of pleaſure is called *Yven ming-yven*; that is to ſay, *The garden of gardens*, or *The garden* by way of excellence. It is not the only one, which the Emperor has. He has three others in the ſame taſte, but leſs than

than this, and not ſo beautiful. In one of theſe three palaces reſides the Empreſs mother, with all her court; this was built by the Emperor's grandfather *Cang-hi**, and is called *Chang-chun-yven*, that is to ſay, *The garden of eternal ſpring*. Thoſe belonging to the princes and great lords, are in little, what theſe of the Emperor are in great.

Perhaps you will ſay, To what purpoſe is this long deſcription? It were better to draw plans of this magnificent palace, and ſend them into *Europe*.—To have done this, would have taken me up at leaſt three years, without attempting any thing elſe: whereas I have not a moment to myſelf, and am obliged to borrow from ſleep the time I

* *Cang-hi* (whoſe father conquered *China*) began his reign in 1660 and died 1722. His ſon *Yong-Tching*, who ſucceeded him, died in 1735. When his grandſon *Kien-Long* the preſent Emperor began his reign.

employ

employ in writing to you now. Beſides, for this purpoſe, I ought to have had free acceſs to the gardens, as oft as I choſe it, with leave to remain there, as long as was neceſſary. It is well for me that I have acquired ſome ſkill in painting: but for this I might, like many other *Europeans*, have lived twenty or thirty years at *Pe-king*, without ever ſetting foot within this charming place.

There is but one man here, and that is the Emperor. All pleaſures are made for him alone. This ſuperb houſe of pleaſure is only ſeen by himſelf, his women and his eunuchs; it is but ſeldom that his princes or grandees are admitted into his gardens, or even his palaces, farther than the halls of audience. Of all the *Europeans*, which are here, it is only the painters

and

and clock-makers, that have ever acceſs to theſe retirements: and their employments neceſſarily procure them admittance every where. The place, where we commonly paint, is one of thoſe little palaces, which I have deſcribed above: and there the Emperor comes to ſee us work almoſt every day, ſo that there is no poſſibility of being abſent. But we are not admitted farther, unleſs what we have to paint cannot be conveyed to us, and then we are conducted to the place under a large *eſcorte* of eunuchs. We are obliged to march quick and without noiſe, upon tip-toe, as if we were going to commit a theft. In this manner I have ſeen and gone over this whole delightful garden: and in this manner I have entered all the apartments. The Emperor reſides here about ten months every year. It is

near

near as far from *Pe-king*, as from *Verſailles* to *Paris**. We ſpend the day in the garden, and dine there at the Emperor's expence: at night we retire to a houſe, which we have bought in a pretty large city or town, near the palace. When the Emperor goes back to the capital, we return with him, and then we are during the day within the palace, and at night we retire to our own [the *French*] church.

Thus, ſir, I have deſcribed a place which has not been mentioned in any printed account, and concerning which you had ſome reaſon to complain of my referring you thither. It only remains that I anſwer your queries on the other articles. You would know then, in what manner I was received by the Emperor; upon what footing I am with him; what ſubjects I am

* About ten *Engliſh* miles.

employed

employed in painting; what lodgings and proviſions are aſſigned us; how the miſſionaries are treated; whether they preach without interruption; whether the *Chineſe* are permitted to profeſs the chriſtian religion; and laſtly, what is the nature of the new brief, concerning the *Chineſe* ceremonies, iſſued out by the holy ſee. Thus have you cut me out a good deal of work. I know not whether I ſhall have leiſure to perform it all. I had better compound with you, and to reſerve one half for the enſuing year.

I was received by the Emperor of *China*, as well as a ſtranger can expect to be by a prince, who thinks himſelf the only ſovereign in the world; who is bred up, ſo as to have no ſenſibility or feeling for any other being; who looks upon any one, eſpecially a ſtranger, as too happy, in being permitted

mitted to enter into his ſervice and to work for him. For to be admitted into the Emperor's preſence; to ſee him often and to converſe with him; is to a *Chineſe* the higheſt pitch of human felicity, the *ſummum bonum*. They would buy this favour at any price, if it were to be purchaſed. Judge then, if they may not well think me ſufficiently rewarded for all my labours by being admitted to ſee him every day. It is indeed almoſt the only pay that I have received, if you except ſome little preſents of ſilk and other things of ſmall value; and even theſe come but ſeldom: it may well be thought then, that it was not profit that brought me to *China*, or that keeps me here. To tug at the oar from day to day; to have ſcarce the Sundays or feſtivals left for my devotions; to paint nothing agreeably to my own taſte or genius: to have a thouſand other diffi-

culties too long to explain: all this would quickly drive me back to *Europe*, if I did not think my pencil ſubſervient to religion, and likely to render the Emperor favourable to the miſſionaries, who preach it: if I did not ſee paradiſe at the end of all my pains and labours. This is the only allurement, which retains me here, as well as all the other *Europeans* who are in the Emperor's ſervice *.

With regard to painting, except the

* The proteſtant reader will remember that it is a *Jeſuit* here who tells his own ſtory, and whatever his real motives are, will take care that none but the moſt plauſible ſhall appear to the world. Other writers who have examined into the conduct of theſe gentlemen more narrowly, will tell a very different tale, for which I need only refer the reader to the accounts of ſome of their brother miſſionaries. See a curious collection of tracts intitled, "*Cauſa Sinenſis ſeu varia ſcripta de cultibus Sinarum, &c. oblata Innocentio XII. Coloniæ* 1700. 8*vo*. See alſo chancellor *Moſheim's* tract printed at the beginning of this volume.

portraits

portraits of the Emperor's brother and his wife, of ſome other princes and princeſſes of the blood, and of ſome of the Emperor's favourites, and great lords, I have painted nothing in the the *European* taſte. I was obliged to forget, if I may ſo ſay, every thing I had formerly learnt, and to bring my hand to a new manner, in order to conform myſelf to the taſte of this nation: ſo that I have been employed three fourths of my time, in painting, either in oil upon glaſs, or in water colours upon ſilk, fruits, birds, fiſhes and beaſts of all kinds; but, ſeldom according to the life. The portraits of the Emperor and Empreſs had been painted before my arrival by a brother of our order, named Caſtiglione, an *Italian* painter of great ſkill, with whom I paſs a great part of my time.

Every ſubject that we undertake is

preſcribed us by the Emperor; who examines the deſigns, as ſoon as we have ſketched them out, and makes us change and reform them as he pleaſes. Whether the correction is for the better or the worſe, we muſt ſubmit to it without remonſtrance. Here the Emperor knows every thing, or at leaſt flattery aſſures him he does, and perhaps he believes it; for he always acts, as if he did.

We are here tolerably well lodged for perſons of a religious order: our houſes are as neat and commodious, as is conſiſtent with the ſtrictneſs of our religious profeſſion. In this reſpect, we have no reaſon to complain. Our proviſions are not amiſs; and except in the article wine, our table is furniſhed much the ſame as in *Europe*. The *Chineſe* drink a kind of wine made of rice, but it is diſagreeable to the

taſte

taſte and prejudicial to the health: inſtead of this, we drink tea without ſugar, which is our only beverage.

The ſubject of religion requires a better pen than mine. Under the Emperor's grandfather, chriſtianity was openly preached throughout the empire: there were in all the provinces a great number of miſſionaries of every order and country. Each had his diſtrict and church. They preached publicly in them, and the *Chineſe* were freely permitted to embrace our religion.

After the death of this prince, his ſon expelled all the miſſionaries out of the provinces, confiſcated their churches, and only allowed the *Europeans* to remain in the capital, as perſons uſeful to the ſtate by their ſkill in the mathematics and other arts and ſciences. The reigning Emperor hath let things con-

tinue upon the ſame footing, nor have we yet been able to obtain the leaſt alteration in our favour.

Many of the miſſionaries, who were expelled, have ſecretly returned into the provinces: and others newly arrived have followed them in pretty large numbers. They keep themſelves concealed there, as well as they can, they cultivate their miſſions, and do all the good in their power, taking proper precautions not to be diſcovered, and never performing their functions but by night.

As we are publicly tolerated in the capital, our miſſionaries there exerciſe their miniſtry without reſerve. We have there three churches, one belonging to the *French* Jeſuits, and two others belonging to the Jeſuits of *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Germany*, &c. Theſe churches

are built after the *European* manner, beautiful, large, well ornamented and painted, and ſuch as would do honour to the greateſt cities of *Europe*. There is at *Pe-king* a very large number of chriſtians, who attend our churches with all freedom. We go into the city to ſay maſs and adminiſter the ſacraments at proper times to the women, who, according to the laws of the country, are not permitted to go from home or to mix with men in the churches. The miſſionaries are indulged in this liberty at the capital, becauſe the Emperor knows very well that the only motive which brings us hither is religion, and that if they ſhut up our churches and deprived the miſſionaries of the liberty of preaching and performing their functions, we ſhould quickly quit *China*; which is what he would not chuſe. Such of our fathers as lurk in the provinces are

not ſo thoroughly concealed, but that the Mandarines might detect them if they would: but they ſhut their eyes, becauſe they know upon what footing we are received at the capital. If by miſchance we ſhould be ſent away, the miſſionaries in the provinces would be ſoon diſcovered and ſent after us. Our figure is too different from that of the *Chineſe* to remain long unobſerved *.

With regard to the progreſs, which our religion makes here, I have already told you that we have three churches and two and twenty Jeſuits; ten of the *French* nation in our *French* houſe, and twelve in the other houſes, who are *Portugueſe*, *Italians* and *Ger-*

* After this follows a paragraph, wherein the writer aſſures his correſpondent of the implicit obedience paid by the Jeſuit miſſionaries to the ſee of *Rome*, which, the impartial Reader, who conſiders the facts produced in the *Memoirs* at the beginning of this volume, will not be over haſty in believing.

mans,

mans. Of theſe twenty-two Jeſuits ſeven are employed, like myſelf, in the Emperor's ſervice. The others are prieſts, and conſequently miſſionaries. They have under their care not only the miſſion eſtabliſhed in the city of *Peking*, but alſo a diſtrict of forty or fifty leagues round, wherein they make from time to time apoſtolic excurſions.

Beſides theſe *European* fathers, there are alſo here five *Chineſe* Jeſuits, who have received prieſts orders, and go into houſes and places, where an *European* cannot go without danger or indecorum. There are beſides theſe in the ſeveral provinces between thirty and forty miſſionaries, reckoning Jeſuits and others. Within this city and the diſtrict abovementioned, our *French* houſe baptizes conſtantly every year between five and ſix hundred grown perſons, and about twelve or thirteen

hundred infants belonging to infidel parents *. Our *Portugueſe* fathers, who are more numerous than the *French*, baptize a greater number of idolaters: accordingly they reckon in this ſingle province and in *Tartary*, between twenty-five and thirty thouſand chriſtians: whereas in our *French* miſſion we only reckon about five thouſand †.

I believe it is high time, ſir, for the con-

* It is cuſtomary with the *Chineſe*, when they have more children than they can conveniently bring up, to expoſe their new-born infants in the ſtreets, leaving them to periſh: the miſſionaries baptize ſuch of theſe as they find not quite dead.

† In the original are four pages more, wherein the writer gives an account of the miraculous recovery of a young *Chineſe* woman, who after having been at the point of death, and given over, was, upon receiving baptiſm, wonderfully reſtored to health, which any perſon is at liberty to believe, if he pleaſes. But this and all ſuch miracles every perſon of reflection will call in doubt, till the miſſionaries can ſhew ſigns, leſs equivocal, than the recovery of a few ſick

convenience of us both, that I ſhould put an end to this letter, which has run out to a greater length than I at firſt intended. I wiſh it may afford you pleaſure, and ſhould be very glad if it were in my power to teſtify my perfect eſteem for you by ſomething more conſiderable. I can only offer up my prayers for you. I beg alſo to be remembered in yours; and am, with great reſpect, Sir,

Your moſt humble,
and moſt obedient
ſervant,
ATTIRET, Jeſuit.

perſons, ſuch for inſtance as the gift of languages, which would be of infinite uſe to them in their foreign miſſions, and ought to be the firſt miracle they ſhould lay claim to, if they would have us pay any regard to their pretenſions, or conſider them as true followers of thoſe apoſtles who certainly were poſſeſſed of it.

THE END OF THE DESCRIPTION, &c.

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DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Solemnities obſerved at PE-KING,

WHEN THE

EMPEROR's Mother entered on the Sixtieth Year of her Age.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE French original of the following piece was publiſhed four years ago in the 28*th* Recueil *of* Lettres edifiantes et curieuſes, &c. *Paris* 1758. 12mo. p. 171. & ſuiv.

Beſides the deſcription of thoſe ſolemnities, which are the main ſubject of this letter, the Reader will find in it a very ſatisfactory account of the footing on which the Jeſuits continue at preſent in China. And by comparing this with ſome of the foregoing articles he will have great inſight into the temper and practices of that ſociety. When theſe gentlemen would excite compaſſion and raiſe contributions on their votaries, then we have moſt lamentable deſcriptions of the perſecutions and ſufferings they undergo for the ſake of Chriſt; then their ſituation in China is repre-

repreſented in the moſt unfavourable light, and their continuance there is meerly for the ſake of the goſpel. At other times when they would aſſume an air of importance, and magnify the power of their order, then we are given to underſtand what weight they have in the Chineſe court; then they have the ear of the Emperor himſelf; then the Mandarines their enemies are obliged to do them honour whether they will or not; and the goſpel triumphs in their perſons over the power of darkneſs. Whereas the real truth of the caſe is, the Jeſuit miſſionaries are conſidered at the Chineſe court in any other light rather than in that of religioniſts; they are there upon the footing meerly of artificers and mathematicians; the goſpel is no way concerned either in their rewards or puniſhments. It appears from their own accounts that they are very little regarded; and notwithſtanding the inſinuations they

endeavour

endeavour to give of their importance, and the pains they take to render themſelves neceſſary to the Chineſe court, we find they are more ſolicitous to keep themſelves there, than even the Emperor is to retain them. They are held too cheap, to excite the hatred or envy of the Chineſe Mandarines, as they would have us believe. Nor is it their religion that is the object of the public attention. It is contrary to the Chineſe laws for ſtrangers to intrude into the empire without permiſſion, and ſuch when caught are ſure to be puniſhed: it is contrary to the Chineſe laws for natives to neglect the obſervance of certain rites, and ſuch when detected muſt incur the penalties: all this is performed by the cool diſpaſſionate hand of the magiſtrate, and the religion of the culprit is no part of the conſideration. As a proof of this, ſuch miſſionaries as are retained in the Emperor's ſervice, and have his permiſſion to

reſide

reſide in China, may exerciſe what religion they pleaſe, and make what proſelytes they will among the natives within their diſtrict, provided theſe natives conform in other reſpects to the Chineſe rites, which by their nice diſtinctions the good fathers have rendered very compatible with their chriſtianity.

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DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Solemnities obſerved at PE-KING,

WHEN THE

EMPEROR's Mother entered on the Sixtieth Year of her Age.

In a letter from *P. Amyot* a jeſuit miſſionary, to *P. Attart* of the ſame ſociety.

Pe-king, October 20. 1752.

Reverend father,

YOU muſt have learnt from the letters of our miſſionaries, and from the public news-papers, the preſent ſtate of religion in this country:

Taking it for granted then that you are ſufficiently informed on this head, I ſhall at preſent confine myſelf to a relation of my voyage from *Canton* to *Pe-king*, and of what I have ſeen moſt wonderful in this capital of the empire.

On the ſixteenth of December 1750, the Jeſuits who reſide here preſented a petition to the Emperor, in which they informed him of the arrival of three of their brethren (two *Portugueſe* Jeſuits and myſelf) adding that the knowledge we had of the *European* ſciences, and among the reſt of mathematics, muſic and pharmacy, might be of uſe, if it pleaſed his Majeſty to ſend for us to the capital. That Prince graciouſly conſented to their deſires. He even ordered the three *Europeans* whom they had mentioned to him, to be brought at his own expence. The Emperor's

pleaſure

pleaſure was ſignified to the tribunals at *Pe-king*. Theſe gave notice to the Viceroy of *Canton*, and enjoined him to provide every thing neceſſary for our journey, informing him that it was his Majeſty's intention that we ſhould be treated according to the ancient rites.

There is no doubt but the infidels, who had applauded themſelves on the perſecution of the church, muſt ſee with regret the miniſters of the goſpel called to court. Nevertheleſs thoſe who had in charge to conduct us, obeyed the orders they had received without reply or delay: and towards the beginning of March in the year 1751, the Mandarines of *Canton* ſent to the Procurator of *Macao*, as being the repreſentative of the *Europeans*, to demand, according to cuſtom, if we were arrived, and if we were in good

health. They alſo gave him in charge to intreat us to fix upon a day for our departure. As we had been informed of all that had paſſed at court concerning us, we had begun to take ſome of the previous ſteps neceſſary for our journey, and our *Chineſe* habits were already making. We returned for anſwer therefore, that on March 28 we ſhould be ready to ſet out for *Canton*. The day appointed being arrived; I had by this time pretty well inſtructed and exerciſed myſelf in the *Chineſe* manners and forms of behaviour. It was repeated to me, what I had often heard, that this was a country where the greateſt attention muſt be paid to outward obſervances; that to fail in one of the leaſt of theſe was almoſt to commit a capital crime; and that a miſſionary, if he would gather any fruit, ought to be very expert in them, otherwiſe he would not even obtain a hearing from the *Chi-*

neſe,

neſe, who would regard him as a ſavage. More in *China* than any where elſe, it is neceſſary to become all things to all men, in order to gain over men to Chriſt.

Towards three o'clock in the evening, accompanied by ſuch of our fathers (as well *French* as *Portugueſe*) as would do us that favour, we went down to the bark which was to tranſport us to *Canton*. Having taken our leaves of each other, we ſurrendered ourſelves up to Providence, and embarked in order to lie but two leagues farther on, oppoſite to a guard-houſe, which was alſo the ſtation of ſome *Chineſe* Mandarines, who are ſet there to guard the firſt avenues into their country. This precaution of taking up ones lodging every evening near the houſe of ſome perſon of authority, is neceſſary to ſecure one as well from the violence and

fury, as from the ſubtle addreſs of the robbers which ſwarm in theſe parts. Theſe ſort of gentry perform here ſuch wonderful feats, that even thoſe who ſuffer by them, would admire them, and could not help laughing, if it concerned any thing leſs than their fortunes.

We did not get to *Canton* till after five days gentle ſailing. The Viceroy diſpenſed with our going in perſon to viſit him. Billets made up after the faſhion, and according to the ceremonial of the country, acquitted us of this obligation, as well with regard to him as the other Mandarines. As we were to go from *Canton* to *Peking* at the expence of the Emperor, it was the *Chineſe* magiſtracy that was to furniſh us with neceſſaries. They were further required to appoint us a Mandarine to watch over our ſafety upon

upon the road. Things are here managed but ſlowly. Sixty-four days elapſed before this affair could be brought to a concluſion. We were obliged to paſs all this time on board our barks, in the port of *Canton*, expoſed to all the heats of a broiling ſun, and to the infection of a mud compoſed of all ſorts of filth, which the reflux of the river leaves every day.

At length on the firſt of June 1751, they told us our affairs were finiſhed; that our paſſport was writ out; that our people were furniſhed for our neceſſary expences; and that one of the Mandarines of the marine had order to provide us barks; for thoſe in which we were at preſent were not proper for travelling, and did not belong to the Emperor. The next morning the barks were provided; the Mandarine who was to conduct us came to preſent him-

ſelf; and towards evening we rowed northwards. I quitted with pleaſure a reſidence where my health had like to have ſuffered a ſad ſhipwreck.

From *Canton* to *Nan-chang*, I ſaw nothing that could deſerve attention, except the mountain which ſeparates the province of *Canton* from that of *Kiang-ſi*. This mountain affords one of the moſt charming views I ever beheld. It is broken and interſected by moſt delightful valleys, which are watered by innumerable little brooks and rivulets. Theſe brooks, after winding for a conſiderable ſpace in a ſerpentine direction, at length unite to form a river, which carries fertility into the adjacent countries. A great road paved with flints, which nature hath formed of various colours, and to which the multitude of paſſengers hath given all the poliſh of the fineſt marble, croſſes

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this mountain for the pleaſure and convenience of travellers. Men alone perform upon this road the office which beaſts of burden diſcharge elſewhere. It is neceſſary for them only to have upon their feet ſhoes woven of a kind of cord peculiar to the country: and as it is the only paſſage for thoſe who don't chuſe to continue their journey by water, or would conſiderably ſhorten it, it is every day frequented by thouſands of people, ſo that you would rather take it for a continual market or fair, than for a public road. It requires a whole day to croſs this mountain, after which a perſon is at liberty either to continue his journey by land, or to re-imbark, as he pleaſes. We choſe the latter, in order to go to *Nan-chang*.

From *Nan-chang* to *Pe-king*, I experienced nothing but ill health, pain, and

and bad roads. It took us up forty-five days to get thither. The Mandarine, who eſcorted us, ſuffered us only to advance by very ſhort ſtages. More than once we intreated him to let us go a little faſter: we always received from him the ſame anſwer. "You are "ſtrangers, ſaid he, ignorant of our "cuſtoms. By the Emperor's order, "I have the charge of your preci-"ous perſons: the weather is very hot, "I am only careful not to expoſe you "to diſtempers. Beſides, added he; "they are only mean people, who can "travel with precipitation." We were obliged to ſeem contented with theſe reaſons, and to reſolve to bear with patience the tedioufneſs of the moſt diſagreeable paſſage that can be conceived. For think not, that they travel here as in other places. Shut up in a litter, like a box, one is ſcarce permitted, in order to take breath, to open little loop-holes,

holes, which are ſcantily made in the two ſides. When a perſon arrives at an inn to take refreſhment or repoſe, it would be a monſtrous indecency to go out, in order to feaſt his eyes with whatever there might be curious in the place. Thus, in a journey of five hundred leagues, through one of the fineſt countries in the world, I have not ſeen enough to afford you entertainment for one quarter of an hour.

On Sunday the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, about noon, we arrived at *Peking*. Some of our fathers came to meet us two leagues from the city. They invited us to alight at the college belonging to the *Portugueſe* Jeſuits, that we might convey ourſelves thence to the chapel of *Monſigneur* the Biſhop, where this prelate awaited our coming, cloathed in his pontifical habits. We had the honour to be preſented to him,

and to receive his benediction. The circumſtances of the laſt perſecution, and the preſent ſtate of religion, afforded him moſt pathetic and affecting terms, for a little diſcourſe, which he addreſſed to us: after which, to the ſound of *Chineſe* inſtruments, he ſung maſs, to thank God for having brought him a reinforcement againſt the common enemy of mankind.

Some days after our arrival, we tranſported ourſelves to *Haï-tien* (three leagues from *Pe-king*) where the court was at that time. The *Tartarian* lord, who is charged here with all affairs relating to us, gave notice to one of the Eunuchs of the preſence, that the *Europeans*, who were newly arrived, were come with their brethren, to pay homage to his Majeſty and to offer him preſents. The Eunuch informed the Emperor of it; and this Prince anſwered

ed after the accuſtomed manner, in the three following words; *I know it:* for here the Emperor always knows every thing. Then our preſents were ſent in, and we were commanded to perform the ceremonies preſcribed upon theſe occaſions, which we executed in the following manner. In one of the courts, where we were ranged all in a line, with our faces turned towards the Emperor's apartment, we proſtrated ourſelves all at once with great gravity, and in a profound and reſpectful ſilence. Thrice we hit the ground with our foreheads. We got up, to go through the ſame ceremony afreſh: which we alſo performed a third time: after which we were commanded to wait his Majeſty's orders. After ſome hours had paſſed away, they came to tell us that the Emperor had done us the honour to accept many of our preſents, and had ſent

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us victuals from his table. At the ſame time theſe were delivered to us, and we eat them ſtanding in the ſame place, where we were. Thus ended the ceremony of our reception into the Emperor's ſervice. After this we were at liberty to go and come as we thought proper. I paſſed ſeveral days at firſt in returning viſits, which I had received, and in ſeeing the curioſities of the country. I deſcribe none of them here, becauſe I could only tell you, what a hundred others have ſaid before me, and what you will find in all the books, which treat of *China*. A ſolemnity, which does not often happen, and which is worthy of your curioſity, will afford me an opportunity of entertaining you in a more intereſting manner. I only beg of you to recall to mind from time to time, in reading what follows, that I only relate what I have ſeen, ſo that if you find any thing wonderful

derful and ſurprizing you may not be tempted to call it in doubt.

It is in *China* an ancient cuſtom to celebrate with great pomp the day when the Emperor's mother enters upon the ſixtieth year of her age. Some months before that day arrived, all the Tribunals of the capital, all the Viceroys and great Mandarines of the empire, had orders to prepare themſelves for the aforementioned ceremony, the moſt ſplendid, that is obſerved in theſe parts. All the painters, engravers, architects, and joiners of *Pe-king* and the neighbouring provinces, were without intermiſſion employed for more than three months together in making, every one, the niceſt works of his reſpective art. Many other kinds of artiſts had alſo employment. The buſineſs was to conſtruct ſomething that might charm

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the eyes of a delicate and voluptuous court, accuſtomed to ſee whatever is moſt beautiful in the works of art brought from the four quarters of the globe. The decorations were to begin at one of the Emperor's houſes of pleaſure, which is at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and to terminate at the palace which is at *Peking* in the center of the *Tartarian* city: theſe are diſtant from each other, about four leagues.

There are two roads which lead from one of theſe palaces to the other. The Emperor ordered that the proceſſion ſhould be made along that which runs by the river ſide. Immediately all the preparations were turned towards that quarter. The Prince cauſed new barks to be built nearly of the ſame ſize and form as our brigantines. The gilding and variety of colours, with which they were adorned, gave a dazzling ſplen-

dour,

dour. Theſe barks were intended to carry the Emperor, the Empreſs-mother, and all the perſons of their retinue: but by an accident, which the Emperor himſelf foreſaw, and which any perſons of good ſenſe might have foreſeen as well as he, they were of no uſe.

At *Pe-king* the cold is extream, and, as it was in the moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the year that the ceremony was to take place, it was natural to think that the river would not be navigable. Some Mandarines nevertheleſs aſſured the Emperor that they could eaſily ſurmount this difficulty. And they took the following method to effect it. By their appointment thouſands of *Chineſe* were employed night and day, ſome in beating and agitating the water to prevent it from freezing, and others in breaking the ice, which

was formed from time to time in ſpite of all the precautions of their comrades; and in drawing it out of the bed of the river. This troubleſome work laſted about three weeks, after which finding that the cold continually increaſed, and that it would at length get the better of them, they yielded up the victory, and deſiſted from an enterprize the moſt daring that ever was. It coſt its principal author only one year's income of his ſalary: a puniſhment light enough in a country like this, where it is always a capital crime for perſons to be found incapable, or even under an impoſſibility of performing, what they have had the boldneſs to promiſe the Emperor: and where it coſts him ſo little to take off their heads. The barks then were declared uſeleſs, and it was concluded to ſubſtitute ſledges in their ſtead. But all this while they had been working

with

with incredible diligence at the embelliſhments that were to decorate the way by which the Empreſs-mother was to paſs. And theſe were nearly what I am going to deſcribe.

On the two banks of the river were erected buildings of different forms. Here was a houſe either ſquare, triangular, or polygon *, with all its apartments. There was a rotunda or ſome other edifice of a ſimilar kind. As one went along, others appeared, whoſe conſtruction (varied in a hundred different manners) engaged, amuſed and charmed the ſight, wherever one fixed it. In ſuch places as the river, by growing wider, had departed from a right line, were built houſes of wood ſupported by pillars fixed in the water, and which appeared above its ſurface,

* i. e. of many angles.

ſome two feet, and others three or four, or even higher, according to the plan of the *Chineſe* architect. The greateſt part of theſe buildings formed iſlands, the paſſage to which was over bridges built for that purpoſe. There were ſome intirely detached and ſeparate, others were contiguous, and had a communication between them by covered galleries, built much in the ſame manner as the houſes and bridges which I have deſcribed above. All theſe edifices were gilt and embelliſhed in the moſt ſplendid taſte of the country. They were every one devoted to a particular uſe. In ſome were bands of muſic: in others companies of comedians; in the greateſt part were refreſhments and magnificent thrones to receive the Emperor and his mother, ſuppoſing they ſhould have an inclination to ſtop and reſt themſelves there for a few moments.

In

In the city was another ſight ſtill finer in its kind, than that I have been deſcribing. From the weſtern gate, by which the court was to make its entrance, to the gate of the palace, there were nothing but ſuperb buildings, periſtyles*, pavilions, colonnades, galleries, amphitheatres, with trophies and other works of *Chineſe* architecture, all equally ſplendid. Theſe were embelliſhed with feſtoons, garlands, and many other ornaments of a ſimilar kind, which being compoſed of the fineſt ſilk of different colours, afforded a charming ſight. Gilding, mock-diamonds, and other ſtones of the ſame kind, glittered on all ſides. A large quantity of mirrours † made of metal highly poliſhed, greatly added to the

* A *periſtyle* is a circular range of pillars. Any ſeries of pillars is a *colonnade*.

† The *Chineſe* mirrours are not of glaſs but poliſhed metal. See P. Du Halde.

ſhew. Their conſtruction and arrangement, by multiplying objects on all ſides, and re-aſſembling them in miniature, formed every thing that could enchant the eyes.

Theſe brilliant edifices were interrupted from time to time by artificial mountains and valleys, made in imitation of nature, which one would have taken for agreeable deſerts and for real places of the moſt delightful ſolitude. They had contrived brooks and fountains, had planted trees and thickets, and ſtuck on deer, to which they had given attitudes ſo natural, that one would have ſaid they were alive. Upon the ſummits or declivities of ſome of theſe mountains, were ſeen *Bonzaries* or *Chineſe* convents with their little temples and idols, to which they had made little paths. In other places they had made orchards and gardens.

In

In the greateſt part of theſe were ſeen vines with their tendrils and cluſters, in different degrees of maturity. In others were planted all ſorts of trees, ſo as to exhibit the fruits and flowers of the four ſeaſons of the year. They were not to be diſtinguiſhed from the true ones, altho' they were only artificial.

This was not all. In diverſe places by which the proceſſion was to paſs, they had diſtributed lakes, meres, and reſervoirs with their ſeveral kinds of fiſh and aquatic fowls. In other places they had ſet children diſguiſed like apes and other animals, who acted the ſeveral parts aſſigned them. As theſe were cloathed in the very ſkins of the animals they were to repreſent, the deception was compleat. Other children were made to reſemble birds and fowls, and acted their parts upon

pillars or lofty poles. Theſe poles and pillars were covered with pieces of ſilk, which concealed men underneath; whoſe buſineſs it was to put the children ſtationed above in motion. In other places they had laid fruits of an enormous ſize, in which they had alſo incloſed children. Theſe fruits opened from time to time, ſo far as to ſhew the ſpectators what they contained. I am not able to inform you, reverend father, whether there was any ſymbolical meaning in all this, or whether it was meerly the production of a whimſical and extravagant fancy. The bands of muſic, the companies of comedians, juglers, and others, were placed at intervals, all along the ſide of the river, and endeavoured every one, according to his ability, his ſkill, and his addreſs, to do ſomething which might pleaſe, if not the Emperor and

his

his mother, at leaſt ſome of the grandees of their retinue, into whoſe ſervice they might hope to be admitted.

The Mandarines of each tribunal had a particular building which they had cauſed to be erected, and embelliſhed at their own expence: the ſame had the Governors of each province, the Princes of the blood, and the other grandees of the empire. The variety of lanthorns and their arrangement formed an appearance, which merits a deſcription apart. But as you have had deſcribed to you, on many occaſions, the *Chineſe* lanthorns, the manner in which they are made, and the ornaments, with which they are decorated, I ſhall refer you to thoſe books wherein they are mentioned.

When once theſe works began to be

be brought to ſome degree of perfection, very ſtrict orders were iſſued out, that no perſon of any quality or condition ſoever, ſhould preſume to ſmoak tobacco in the ſtreets ſo newly adorned. This precaution appeared neceſſary to prevent any accident which might have happened from fire. The *police* or good government that was obſerved upon this occaſion, as well as during the whole preparations of this feſtival, appeared to me admirable. Some weeks before the day of ceremony, a regulation was made, that the ſtreets (which are here extremely wide) ſhould be divided into three parts, in order that foot paſſengers, and thoſe on horſeback, the comers and goers, in a word that prodigious multitude of people, which was then aſſembled in the capital, might all enjoy this fine ſight at their eaſe. The middle of the ſtreet,

which

which was much larger than the two ſides, was ſet apart for thoſe on horſe-back or ſuch as had equipages: one of the ſides, for thoſe who went; and the other for thoſe that came. To make this order obſerved, it was not neceſſary to plant grenadiers with bayonets at the end of their muſquets, or with drawn ſwords in their hands, who ſhould threaten to ſtrike all that diſobeyed. A few ſoldiers ſimply armed with whips, prevented all diſorder and confuſion. Thus thouſands ſaw at their leiſure in the ſpace of a few hours, what could not have been ſeen in a fortnight, without this precaution.

But, as it is not uſual in this country for the women to go abroad or mix with the men, and on the other hand it would have been unreaſonable to have excluded them from a ſhew, that

that was exhibited in honour of a perſon of their own ſex, the Emperor provided for both theſe difficulties by appointing certain days for them alone. During theſe days, no man was permitted to appear in the ſtreets; and in effect none did appear. By theſe means every body was content, and ſatisfied his curioſity without violating any of their national rites, and without the leaſt offence to decorum.

Another thing, which deſerves to be remarked, is the choice that was made of a hundred old men, which were ſuppoſed to be fetched from the different provinces of the empire, and to be aged every one of them a hundred years. The moſt aged were not ſought out for this purpoſe (for the Emperor here gives years at his pleaſure) but only thoſe, whoſe beards were whiteſt,

whiteſt, longeſt and moſt venerable. Theſe old men were uniformly cloathed, and carried upon their bellies a long medal of ſilver, upon which were engraved characters, that ſignified the province they repreſented. Theſe old men were called in the *Chineſe* language, *Pe-lao-King-cheon*, that is, "The "hundred old men, who pay homage "to her Majeſty, and wiſh her as "many years of life, as they have "among them."

The ancient ſages or immortals, as the *Chineſe* call them *, to the number of three times eight, were required alſo to ſwell the Empreſs's triumph, and to wiſh her their own wiſdom and immortality: for this purpoſe their ſtatues, ſomewhat above the human

* The Tranſlator hath omitted their *Chineſe* titles, &c.

ſize,

ſize, were placed not far from the outward gate of the palace. They had given them different figures and attitudes, doubtleſs to expreſs the particular virtues of which they were the *ſymbols*, or which were ſuppoſed to have been moſt eſteemed by theſe ſages.

All the preparations being finiſhed, and the Emperor fearing, that in ſpite of all the precautions he could take, ſome fire would happen, which it might be difficult to extinguiſh, and which might reduce the whole city to aſhes, would have the ceremony begin: It accordingly commenced five days before the Empreſs-mother had attained her ſixtieth year. The order was immediately iſſued out and executed on the 20th day of the 11th moon in the 16th year of the reign of the Em-

the Emperor *Kien-long*, that is to ſay, according to our ſtyle, on January the ſixth 1752.

I ſhall tell you nothing of the proceſſion or of the order in which it was conducted, becauſe I ſaw nothing of that myſelf. Upon theſe occaſions, and indeed whenever the Emperor goes abroad, every one ſhuts himſelf up in his houſe, and none are ſuffered (except ſuch whoſe ſtation and place requires it) to caſt their raſh glances upon the perſon of the Prince. I was only told, that the Emperor preceded his Mother a few paces, and waited on her, as her SQUIRE. This Prince when he came off the water mounted on horſeback, and the Empreſs was put in a chaiſe open on all ſides. All the perſons of their court followed them on foot. Their Majeſties ſtopped from time to time, to exa-

examine at their leiſure, whatever pleaſed them moſt.

The very ſame evening they began to pull down the machinery; and in a few days, every thing was demoliſhed that had been ſet up in the city: but the Emperor would not let them meddle with any thing that was upon the water or along the borders of the river. He ordered this to be preſerved as a monument of the magnificence of his reign.

Among the preſents, which were made upon this occaſion, was ſeen every thing that is moſt rare and curious in the four parts of the world. The *Europeans* did not neglect ſo fair an opportunity to recommend themſelves. As ſuch of theſe, as are at court, are received there only in the quality of mathematicians and artiſts, they were

deſirous

deſirous that their preſent ſhould be anſwerable to theſe titles, and yet correſpond with the Emperor's taſte. They made therefore a machine, of which the following is a pretty exact deſcription. A theatre in the ſhape of a half circle about three feet high, preſented in its boſom paintings of a very delicate taſte. This theatre had three ſcenes on each ſide, containing every one a particular deſign painted in perſpective. In the center was a ſtatue clad in the *Chineſe* faſhion, holding in its hands an inſcription, in which a moſt long and fortunate life was wiſhed to the Emperor. This was done in three words, *Vouan-nien-hoan.* Before each ſcene were *Chineſe* ſtatues, who held in their left hands, little baſons of gilt copper, and in their right, little hammers of the ſame metal. This theatre, ſuch as I have been deſcribing, was ſuppoſed to be built by

the water ſide. The fore part repreſented a mere or ſea, or rather a baſon, from which ſprung up a *jet d'eau* which fell back again in the form of a caſcade: a plate of looking glaſs repreſented the baſon; and threads of glaſs blown at a lamp by a man very dexterous at that buſineſs, were ſo fine and delicate, and imitated ſo well a *jet d'eau*, that at a ſmall diſtance they might have been miſtaken for it. Around the baſon they had marked a dial plate with *European* and *Chineſe* characters. A gooſe and two ducks were made ſporting in the middle of the water. The two ducks muddled with their beaks, and the gooſe marked with hers the preſent hour. The whole moved by ſprings, which at the ſame time formed the movements of the clock, that was in the machine. A loadſtone, which was likewiſe concealed and which moved round the dial

dial plate, drew after it the gooſe, the greateſt part of which was of iron. When the hour was upon the point of ſtriking, the ſtatue which held the inſcription in its hand, came forth from an apartment in the center of the theatre, and with a profound reverence ſhewed the legend; afterwards the ſix other ſtatues played a muſical air, by ſtriking, every one upon his baſon, the note which had been aſſigned him, as often and in ſuch a *time*, as the muſic required. This ended, the figure that bore the inſcription returned back with great gravity, to wait for the enſuing hour. This machine pleaſed the Emperor ſo much, that he was deſirous to teſtify his gratitude to the *Europeans* for it. In return he made them a preſent, which was at leaſt an equivalent for the expence they had been at in its conſtruction. The honour which he

thereby did us is much more valuable than the greateſt riches. He cauſed it to be placed in one of thoſe apartments of the palace which he frequents the oftenеſt: and it is there preſerved with great care to this day.

The Emperor made preſents to all the Mandarines of the capital in recompence for the care and pains they had taken about theſe ſolemnities. All the women of the empire that were eighty years old and upwards, partook likewiſe of his liberality. The ſum of money was more or leſs conſiderable in proportion to their age. It is computed that the expence of this feſtival, reckoning as well what was laid out by the Emperor as by the different corporations and private perſons, amounted to more than three hundred million [of *livres.*]

[*What follows in this letter, as relating only to the private affairs of the miſſion, I ſhall here omit, with reſerve only of one paragraph; which, as it may be ſatisfactory to know upon what footing the miſſionaries continue at preſent in China, I ſhall here retain.*]

" Although the chriſtian religion remains ſtill proſcribed the *Chineſe* empire, we nevertheleſs at *Pe-king* continue to exerciſe our miniſtry with great freedom within our own houſes, or even abroad, obſerving certain precautions. Divine ſervice is performed in our churches every Sunday, as in the moſt regular pariſhes. Chriſtians come there continually with all freedom. They ſing there hymns in the *Chineſe* tongue, they hear ſermon and aſſiſt, at high maſs, which is ſung with all the ſolemnity that could be obſerved in *Europe*. We have particular

ticular congregations for the moſt fervent chriſtians: Congregations of the holy ſacrament, of the heart of JESUS, of the holy virgin: and the congregation of penance in particular, whoſe object is to do penance not only for their own ſins, but alſo for thoſe of others, and TO DEMAND OF GOD BY THEIR SATISFACTORY WORKS *(de demander a Dieu par ſes oeuvres ſatisfactoires)* that he will ſuffer himſelf to be ſoftened in favour of ſo many infidels, who are ignorant of and blaſpheme his holy name."

Upon this paſſage we ſhall only make two reflections. The one is, that notwithſtanding the piteous outcries which the Jeſuits have made of perſecution and martyrdom for the cauſe of the goſpel, in the late proſcription their religion hath undergone in China, there is reaſon to believe,

what

what the Emperor YONG-CHING, *(who baniſhed them) conſtantly affirmed, that they were not expelled for the ſake of their religion, but becauſe the Chineſe* laws do not allow of the promiſcuous intercourſe of foreigners, nor of the omiſſion of certain rites, which are deemed eſſential to the welfare of the ſtate.

Again, we learn from hence what a kind of chriſtianity the Jeſuits propagate in China; who inſtead of the all-ſufficient ſacrifice, attonement and ſatisfaction made for the ſins of the whole world by JESUS *on the croſs, have ſubſtituted the ſcourgings &c. of a few frantic bigots, as a ſufficient attonement and ſatisfaction for themſelves and others. A doctrine which without any difficulty would be admitted by the Chineſe, who maintain thouſands of Bonzees, on this very account, that their ſins and vices may be expiated by the voluntary ſufferings of thoſe gentry. —— Not to*

mention what ideas it muſt give of the DEITY: *to ſuppoſe him ſo cruel as to delight in the voluntary tortures of his creatures; and ſo inexorable as to have that mercy extorted from him only by their ſufferings, which he will not grant for the ſalvation of mankind.*

THE END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

CORRIGENDA.

In the Preface p. 1. *lin.* 13. *for* nations, *r.* countries.
Preface, page 10. *Cancel theſe words in the Note,*
The above is the account of the Critical Review; how far the original is rightly repreſented we are not able to ſay.

VOL. I.

Page— 8. *dele the ſecond Note marked* (†)
9. *lin.* 7. *read* hieroglyphic.
20. *l. ult. for* action, *r.* notion.
31. *l.* 17. *dele* is.
36. *l.* 6. *for* lien, *r.* lieu.
53. *l.* 17. *for* the, *r.* your.
85. *l.* 18. *r.* hearts the darts that wound them.
116. *l.* 8. *a full ſtop after* daughter (.)
147. *l.* 8. *for* of, *r.* in.—*l.* 20. *for* into, *r.* to.
178. *l.* 15. *for* and, *r.* or.
181. *l.* 3. *for* at preſent, *r.* now.
227. *l.* 14. *read* miniſter.

VOL. II.

Page 14. *l.* 7. *r.* Bramin.
90. *l.* 13. *dele* and.—*l.* 14. *r.* and to the Jeſuits.
92. *l.* 15. *r.* of China in which.
119. *l.* 19. *before* learn from, *dele*, ſhall.
120. *l.* 20. *r.* theſe ſeverities placed.
135. *l.* 19. *r.* covered.—*l.* 21. *r.* adorned.
157. *l.* 2. *r.* and caſcades, which.
164. *l.* 11. *r.* bridges; and all the *.
181. *l.* 7. *for* this, *r.* it.
190. *l.* 13. *before* reſerve, *dele* to.
194. *l.* 19. *r.* of wine.
222. *l. penult. r.* that I relate nothing but.
224. *l. ult. r.* gave them a dazzling.
237. *l.* 8. *for* "*-cheon*," *r.* "*-cheou.*"
243. *l.* 18. *r.* deſirous of teſtifying.
245. *l.* 2. *for* "*only*," *r.* "*meerly.*"

N. B. Since this little work was printed off, the Editor hath obtained a ſight of Mr. Needham's curious tract deſcribed in the Preface, and only finds it neceſſary to retract the laſt note relating to the colour and ſize of the marble, &c.

Mr. Needham has obviated the objection there made in the following manner. He ſuppoſes the Buſt preſerved at Turin to be only a copy of ſome other more ancient; which was eſteemed ſo ſacred, that not content to imitate it exactly, the Sculptor thought it neceſſary to expreſs in writing all the particularities of its ſhape, ſize, colour, and dimenſions.

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